UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE DOUBLE ESTRANGEMENT OF ABORIGINAL ELDERS IN CANADA: THE CASE OF SAGAMOK ANISHNAWBEK FIRST NATION

BY

Nicole Andrea Eshkakogan ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Department of Sociology

Edmonton, Alberta
Fall, 2004

Library and
Archives Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 0-612-95628-8
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 0-612-95628-8

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing the Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou aturement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

Canada

DEDICATON

This thesis is dedicated to Many Arrows for your infinite strength that continues to represent the honor, wisdom and legacy of the Born With A Tooth Family of the Blackfoot Confederacy. To Evening Star, otherwise known as Handsome Bachelor, for your patience, sincerity, and laughter and for your innate ability to carry the knowledge of the ancestors. It is an honor to be the mother of two grand protectors born of the Lonefighter's Society.

– Morning Star –

Acknowledgements

I acknowledge the spirits of my children Many Arrows and Handsome Bachelor, my husband Bernard, and my sister's Tasha and Misty who all believed in my dreams, provided unconditional companionship, and gave me strength throughout my thesis process. I appreciate all of my *relations* for ultimately giving me the opportunity to identify with and know my Anishnawbek relations and Elders.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my Teachers: My mother and father, Janet and Charles, for providing unconditional love, spiritual nurturing and protection; my uncle, Milton Born With A Tooth, for ensuring that I gain responsibility for understanding and acknowledging the ways of the Real People – Niitsitapi; and my thesis supervisor, now someone I consider to be one of my true Elders, Dr. Sara Dorow, for your confidence in me, and your unrelenting support and guidance. All of my Teachers have played a key role in my becoming in the world.

I would like to extend a sincere thanks to the thesis examination committee members: Dr. Bryan Hogeveen and Dr. James Dempsey for their patience and insightful comments. I sincerely thank my education counselors, Karen Trudeau and Anna Abitong, for their unrelenting support and friendship. The Sagamok Anishnawbek First Nation Reserve for their financial support. My deepest appreciation goes to all of the Sagamok community members and Elders for graciously sharing their words, thoughts and feelings.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1 Introduction 1
    1.1 Rationale of the Study 5
    1.2 Methodology and Theoretical Framework 8
        1.2.1 Research Purpose and Objectives 14
        1.2.2 Research Design 16
        1.2.3 Method of Data Collection 17
        1.2.4 The Challenges 23
    1.3 Overview of the Thesis 25

Chapter 2 Social Change in Sagamok 27
    2.1 Colonizing the Anishnawbek 28
    2.2 Current Issues in Sagamok 34
        2.2.1 The Role of Culture and Tradition 34
        2.2.2 The Youth of Sagamok 43
    2.3 Community Interaction and the Role of the Elders 46

Chapter 3 The Double Estrangement of Anishnawbek Elders 57
    3.1 The Anishnawbek Way of Life and Elder Estrangement 64
    3.2 Major Factors Contributing to the Estrangement of Anishnawbek Elders 69
        3.2.1 The Formal Education of Younger Anishnawbek 69
        3.2.2 Tribal Nepotism 81
        3.2.3 Language 89
    3.3 Other Causes of Anishnawbek Elder Estrangement 93
        3.3.1 Imaginary Elders 93
        3.3.2 Unaccountability of the Elders 97

Chapter 4 Reflections and Challenges 107
    4.1 Reflections 107
    4.2 Challenges 117
    4.3 Issues for Future Research 124
    4.4 Conclusion 127

References 129
Appendices 146

Chapter 1: Introduction

If there is one common shared idea among Aboriginal people, it is that Elder is a distinguished title. The Ojibwa word for Elder is Kichenishnabe, meaning "Great People" (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples-RCAP 1996:110). However, the Aboriginal population is not a homogenous group; thus attempts to characterize their position in Canadian society are plagued with both semantic and methodological debates[1] (Frideres 1994:19). There are major differences between Aboriginal people throughout Canada, which are magnified by their geographic location, legal status, lifestyle, and so on. If one were to ask what is the difference between an Indian Elder and an Indian old person, the answers in Indian country would doubtless be as interesting as they would be varied (Baldridge 2001:1516).

In general, most Aboriginal people would support the notion that Elders in Aboriginal societies have universally assumed a unique role: to assist people, both individually and collectively, to learn their traditions and culture and to maintain health and well being (Hamilton and Sinclair 1991; RCAP 1996). To many Aboriginal people, Elders are persons who have come to embody greatly valued traits such as high moral standards, wisdom, and responsibility. Elders, though, are not necessarily of advanced age. Elder status is not solely a function of chronological age and may be conferred earlier than in the majority culture (Hohn 1986; Buchwald et al. 2000; Jervis, Jackson and Manson 2002).

---

[1] This paper uses the words Aboriginal, Indian, Native, First Nation, and Indigenous interchangeably. Aboriginal is used in Canada to include Indians, Métis and Inuit (all legal terms) as defined by the Constitution Act 1982. Indian is defined by the Federal Indian Act as a person who is pursuant to the Indian Act is registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as Indian. Native is a generic term, used to include Métis, and Indian (status and non status). I use the term First Nation(s) to refer only to those Aboriginal peoples who are entitled to be registered as Indians, and I use this term to refer to the reserve that those people are from. Finally, Indigenous is used in international treaties and is used in this paper in reference to Indigenous and local communities worldwide.

Overall, there are at least three general distinctions (themes) that most researchers repeat in their attempts to provide a general definition of the Elders, and their roles in relation to those definitions[2].

1. Community Elder: Reflects age and extensive life experience, presently maintains a healthy lifestyle, and possesses a wealth of practical knowledge (this knowledge may not be related to spiritual knowledge, and usually involves expertise based on life experience). This type of Elder is not generally the sort associated with healing or institutional work.

2. Elder/Healer: May primarily work as a healer who specifically practices medicine in the form of ceremonies and/or in the use of Aboriginal pharmacology. This person can be a healer without being an Elder.

3. Elder/Teacher: This is an individual who is primarily a cultural, spiritual teacher/leader and mentor who is also an exemplary community figure.
   (Ellerby 2001:7-10)

Ellerby (2001:11) states that the Elder/Healer and Elder/Teacher are difficult to differentiate. But the Elder/Healer focuses on traditional healing specialties, while the Elder/Teacher focuses on counseling. It is not my intention to typologize Elders into a fixed set of categories, but it is necessary to note the types of Elders that can exist in Indian country in order to understand the types of Elders who were interviewed for my thesis research, which will become more evident throughout this thesis (I later explain in the types of Elders interviewed for this thesis in section 1.2.3. I also explain the relevance of Elders who are Healers and Teacher in the final chapter). It is important to keep in mind that the identification of Elders is "fluid, dynamic, situational, and is embedded in a matrix of social, cultural, economic, political and linguistic practices and orientations" (Strong and Van Winkle 1996:556-557).

---

[2] See Ellerby 2001 for a detailed discussion on Elders, their roles, and typifications.

Elders should be enjoying a guaranteed larger-than-life status in Aboriginal communities due to Aboriginal traditional and cultural values that honor age, wisdom, and continuity between the past and present, harmony and the like. Baldridge (2001:1516) states that "in tribal communities, a pertinent question is not whether Indian Elders can live up to anyone's image of them, but whether Indian country can cope with its own expectations of how Elders should be treated." For example, the fact that Elders are so highly regarded in Indian political rhetoric contrasts dramatically with their poor health and socioeconomic status, and with tribes' frequent failure to provide adequate senior programs for them (Brown 1989; Frideres 1994; Baldridge 2001; Jervis et al. 2002).

For older Natives, I argue that these problems are magnified by their experience of double jeopardy; they have been forgotten by their own people and ignored by the rest of Canadian society (Frideres 1994:33). In other words, Aboriginal Elders are experiencing estrangement on two levels. First, Elders find themselves marginalized and tangential to their own culture because of what they previously experienced under colonialism and during the residential school era—

experiences that resulted in extensive social and political change. Second, in a society where there is little or no consideration for the inclusion of Aboriginal Elders, here too, they remain outside of the mainstream Canadian institutional structure.

This paper analyzes how Elders have become estranged from Canadian society, and more specifically as cultural and social actors within their own communities. Research projects like this one are a way of listening to the knowledge and experience of the Elders and their community members, and using that knowledge and experience as a valuable resource for awareness and change. In this case, I draw on what Anishnawbek[3] Elders and Sagamok Anishnawbek[4] members know about their community, about its past and present conditions, about its problems, about their neighbors and families' past life history experiences, about their traditions, and about how they interpret their everyday life experiences.

By examining how both Elders and younger Aboriginal peoples understand intergenerational relationships and, defined social, cultural and traditional (or lack there of) roles of Elders in the community, I demonstrate how major factors such as education, tribal nepotism and loss of language contribute to the estrangement of Elders in Aboriginal communities.

---

[3] The term Anishnawbek simply refers to humans or real people. Anishnabe means the same, but is a singular term, and refers to just one human, or one real person (Source: Peter Owl, Elder and Lands, Membership and Estates Officer Telephone Inquiry 2004).

[4] The Sagamok Anishnawbek First Nation reserve was previously known as the Spanish River Indian Reserve—most community members equated this name to mean the "Ojibway of the Spanish River." That is, they felt that they were the people who occupied the region of the Spanish River. In 1991, the community decided that name should be changed from Spanish River Indian Reserve to Sagamok Anishnawbek First Nation to reflect their belief that they were the occupiers of that region. *Sagamok*, which means, two paths, or two roads that meet (this is really in reference to two rivers that meet, but there is no proper translation to show the intent of the word Sagamok when it is translated), and *Anishnawbek* in this context refer to the people that occupy that area. "The people that occupy the area where two paths meet," or "The people that occupy the region where two rivers meet" might be the closest translations (Source: Peter Owl, Elder and Lands, Membership and Estates Officer Telephone Inquiry 2004).

1.1 Rationale of the study

The estrangement of Elders in Aboriginal communities contributes to a lack of awareness and understanding of what Elders are now experiencing, and thus to a lack of knowledge about their situational needs and concerns. In recent years, Canadians have become increasingly aware of the difficulties faced by Aboriginal communities, as well as of the efforts these communities are taking to heal themselves and to revitalize a sense of pride in their heritage, culture and tradition (MacDonell 1994:8). History shows us that to deal effectively with the needs and aspirations of Aboriginal people requires a deep understanding of many social, political, economic and cultural issues, which are unique to Native populations (Armstrong-Ester 1994:46). The double estrangement of Aboriginal Elders is one issue that requires attention and to date, Aboriginal Elders have not been the object of any appreciable research in Canada (MacDonell 1994:8).

The estrangement of Elders is important for postcolonial theory because the current generations of Elders have experienced both the direct and indirect effects of colonialism when it was at its most stringent in Canada. My research will show that the estrangement of Elders is a direct consequence of their past experiences under the influence of colonialism. Furthermore, postcolonial studies challenge colonial modes of perceptions about Aboriginal people, and allow for the deconstruction of colonial discourse within popular Western research, which might lead to an understanding of what Elders now currently experience in a realistic and critical manner.

Most research does not make an honest critical attempt to effectively analyze and report the reality of cultural, socio-economic and health-related problems, which seem to destabilize the role of Elders in Aboriginal communities. Little focus has been given to the special circumstances or needs of Elders that result from the interplay of traditional and current patterns of informal support in relation to their status (Suzman & Riley 1985) within Aboriginal communities. Few institutions of higher learning in North America have made an effort to address Aboriginal aging issues (John & Salvini 1996:725), despite the obvious gains in the life expectancy of Aboriginal peoples. Elder estrangement in Aboriginal communities is an important issue, one that can be dealt with now, at a time when the population of senior Aboriginals is not too large a population on most reserves. This will not always be the case; estrangement of Elders along with other Aboriginal senior issues must be dealt with proactively rather than waiting until there is an even larger population of Aboriginal Elders finding themselves in situations where they are dealing with their social, cultural and economic issues as marginalized individuals.

Currently, policies and programs designed to benefit Aboriginal communities as a whole do not appear to reflect the growing population of aging Native peoples, even though there is a definite trend toward aging in the

Aboriginal population. This aging is in large partly due to the gradually improving life expectancy and to the declining birth rate among Aboriginal peoples (Statistics Canada 2001:7). The number of Aboriginal seniors, while relatively small, soared 40% between 1996 and 2001 to 39,700 (Statistics Canada 2001:8). This was by far the biggest increase of all broad age groups (Statistics Canada 2001:8). The dramatic increase of Indian Elders during the last ten years, both in proportion and absolute number, is proof that population aging is occurring at a faster pace among Aboriginals than non-Aboriginals and most other minority populations (John & Salvini 1996:724).

Unfortunately, the phenomenon of aging among Aboriginal peoples is often overlooked because of its overall youthfulness. Researchers note that this rapid increase in the older Aboriginal population will continue (Wood 1989; Angel & Hogan 1991). The needs of Elders, therefore, will become more evident and important, especially since Aboriginal Elders constitute a specific group of older persons at risk (John & Salvini 1996:724).

Over the next few decades, Aboriginal people, who already face incredible adversities in their current existence in contemporary Canada, will have to come to terms with how to deal with aging. Albeit for the first time, since at the time of contact the average life expectancy was about 33 years (RCAP 1996:12). This means that Aboriginal people will have to establish culturally sensitive methods to address chronic aging diseases, along with the cultural and socio-economic problems of their Elderly who are also experiencing estrangement. It certainly would be a calamity to see a larger population of Aboriginal people estranged from their own communities in the future. Therefore, there needs to be some investigation into how this estrangement affects intergenerational relationships, and the overall well being of Aboriginal communities and Elders today.

1.2 Methodology and Theoretical Framework

The most exciting challenge of writing this paper was to move beyond analyzing European images, official colonial accounts, and dominant theoretical discourses, which continue to plague Indigenous constructions of knowledge (Hill 2000:4). I was encouraged to participate in a cultural dialogue that crossed professional and ethnic boundaries (Tsing 1993:31) between institutionalized coherence to post colonial theories and the oral discourse of Aboriginal peoples self-understandings in the construction of my thesis.

Postcolonial theories both utilize and criticize dominant representations of culture. While there is no general consensus on an exact sociological definition of postcolonialism, a possible working definition of postcolonialism is that it involves a studied engagement with the experience of colonialism and its past and present effects, both at the local level of ex-colonial societies as well as at the level of more general global developments thought to be after-effects of an empire (Quayson 2000:2). Postcoloniality is a condition requiring a cure, and the passage to that cure involves a return to buried memories of colonial trauma (Nair 2002:x).

The impact of colonized experience on Native consciousness and social problems, the erosion of Indigenous culture and values through continued Western domination, the dilemma posed by biculturalism, the search for identity, self-assertion and the urge for decolonization (Maya 1997:14) are all persistent themes in recent research on Aboriginal peoples. Postcolonial theory therefore ought to be concerned with what we might call Indigenous solutions to colonial problems (Castle 2001:xiv); but I am in agreement with other social researchers that it is often the case that the term "postcolonial" stands as a roadblock to any progress toward this goal precisely because it implies affiliations with Western intellectual traditions (Hill 2000; Castle 2001; Cheyfitz 2002). Why might this be a problem?

Today Aboriginal people want recognition of their own cultural forms of knowing. For some Aboriginal people, they may feel that recognition of their own cultural knowledge may be more difficult to achieve if they affiliate their cultural ways of knowing with Western intellectual traditions, especially since formal learning along with its theories has historically been positioned above the informal in dominant/modern Canada.

Cheyfitz (2002:406) states that the lack of engagement between Native American and postcolonial studies may be, at least in part and with a few notable exceptions, the result of a resistance to critical theory within Native American studies itself. I might also add that another reason why Indigenous intellectuals have not embraced postcolonial theory is that Aboriginal presence in academia is very recent. Most Aboriginal PhD's are first generation university students. The office of Native Students Services employed me in the summer of 2003, and one of my major assignments was to complete an informal analysis on the types of degrees earned by Aboriginal students over a ten-year period (1992-2002). In short, what I observed was that there was a shortage of Aboriginal people with PhD's in the humanities and social sciences, and most tended to be graduates in education, social work, nursing and business (most likely because these areas of study are more practically applicable in Aboriginal communities).

Another possible cause for the lack of engagement between Aboriginal peoples and postcolonial studies is that postcolonial theorists have not yet fully "come to grips with the realities of colonial domination of Indian/White relations in North America" (Cook-Lynn 1997:21-22). Hutcheson (1989:75) states, "when Canadian culture is called postcolonial today, the reference is very rarely (at least explicitly) to Native culture, which might be the more accurate historical use of the term." Canada, in trying to build its national identity, requiring an imagined past, place and people, denies its own Aboriginal peoples this place and presence (Anderson and Domosh 2002:126).

> In my understanding, postcolonial studies take as their proper field the histories of European imperialisms, manifested both in colonial situations since the onset of modern globalization in 1492, and, where applicable, in the transformation of these situations into neocolonial or postcolonial predicaments. It is surprising, then, if not a complete scandal, that postcolonial studies have virtually ignored the predicaments of American Indian communities in that territory known in European terms since the late 18th century.
> (Cheyfitz 2002:406)

Cook-Lynn (1997:13-14) believes that postcolonial study, whether through ignorance or neglect, has been oblivious to the precise colonial situation of Native communities, mainly because modern scholars have promoted postcolonial theories as though Native populations were no longer trapped in the vise of twentieth century colonialism.

It is not the purpose of my paper to account for the erasure or neglect of the precise colonial situations of Aboriginal peoples within postcolonial studies. Nor is it my intention to provide an elaborate introduction to postcolonialism[5]. Instead, I wish to bring to light some of the criticisms of postcolonial studies, so that my own research does not perpetuate the colonial relationship that many Elders believe Western studies enforce. I attempt a writing strategy "in which curiosity is not overwhelmed by coherence" (Tsing 1993:31) to any one specific postcolonial theory or process. I will use and discard fragments of current popular postcolonial theories in order to rely more on Aboriginal self-understandings, to tend to the task of revealing the Indigenous experience. Tsing (1993:31) states, "transcultural conversations sensibly make use of fragments of whatever theories are available," in this case, postcolonialism and the Indigenous experience and constructions of knowledge by way of cultural dialogue.

My study of Elders and how it speaks to postcolonial theory is an important area that I considered for two reasons. First, today's Elders are a generation of Aboriginal people that were directly targeted by genocidal policies of the government designed to assimilate Aboriginals. As mentioned earlier, the current generation of Elders has experienced both the indirect effects of colonialism, and the direct effects of Indian residential schools. Younger cohorts of Elders, on the other hand, are dealing with the indirect effects of Indian residential schools, and the direct effects of Canadian capitalist cultures. In chapter two, I discuss how the Indian residential school system was a key factor in the Canadian government's attempt to colonize and assimilate Aboriginal people. In addition, I describe how the effects of the residential school system have become the foundation for intergenerational breakdown, loss of culture and identity, and the disassociation of Anishnawbek people from their Elders.

---

[5] For such a critical introduction, Quayson (2000:19-20) suggests that it is best to turn to Robert Young (1990), Bart Moore-Gilbert (1997), Peter Childs and Patrick Williams (1997), Ania Loomba (1998) and Leela Gandhi (1998).

A second consideration is the fact that I want to write in a manner that will critically reflect the lived realities of the Elders. It is extremely important that I remain critically aware of Elders' current situations, be a critical writer, and not become a victim of romantic criticism due to being an Aboriginal person myself. Romantic criticism gratifies a writer's sense of moral worth, in this case, as an Aboriginal personal writing about Aboriginal Elders, but can only offer utopian longings that ultimately have no critical edge (Wolfe 1996:39). Ng (1991:10) vocalizes my reality as an Aboriginal person writing about Aboriginal people: "It is nevertheless in these contradictions that I exist, and therefore think, speak, and write". Blackfoot and Anishnawbek teachings have shaped my own consciousness, which is influenced by Western colonial realities (Graveline

2000:362). At the same time, I am aware that many Elders do not trust contemporary western approaches to research on Aboriginal peoples, because they believe that Western studies reproduce colonial relations (Schnarch 2004:81). I am thus doubly compelled not to be overly dependent on the use of postcolonial studies in the way that I construct my thesis.

Nonetheless, I also use postcolonial theory to assist in the task of approaching the social problems of the Anishnawbek in all their ambiguity and nuance, confronting squarely the tragic contradictions that inevitably arise (Brown 1998:195) in the everyday life of Sagamok, in a critical but culturally sensitive manner. In addition, the use of postcolonial studies assists me in the task of understanding that the appropriation of voice is a hot topic of postcolonial discourse (Graveline 2000:362). As Young Man (1992:81) puts it:

> Who should speak about Native peoples' culture, oppression, and social movement experiences? To Elders, only those who have experienced an event are empowered to speak about it. Embrace First Voice as a methodology. Only those who are Aboriginal can speak about being Aboriginal, and can understand with any depth our meanings within a Native perspective.

Despite being an Aboriginal person, I understand that as a social researcher, I need to include the self-reported understandings of the Anishnawbek people in my attempts to write about the estrangement of Elders. I recognize that I have to position myself in a place of trust with the Anishnawbek people in order to say anything at all (Hall 1991:18) about the present circumstances of the Anishnawbek Elders.

In conclusion, my research is based on a bi-cultural model that bridges the Euro-western and Anishnawbek methodological frameworks. Each cultural model is associated with a different set of ethics and standards (Bastien 1999:93) that are essential in researching the double estrangement of Aboriginal Elders.

1.2.1 Research Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of my thesis is to analyze how Elders are estranged from Canadian society and more specifically within their own communities. In short, the main objective of this study is twofold: (1) to present the extent of Aboriginal Elders estrangement from Canadian society, and more specifically from their own communities; (2) to demonstrate how Aboriginal Elders have become external and at a tangent within their own community. Furthermore, I will discuss how this estrangement has affected the development of intergenerational relationships. Elders' personal shared experiences will demonstrate that they indeed feel that they are peripheral within their own communities. For example, they feel ignored by younger community members and some acknowledge the fact that they are never invited to community events. Understanding Elder estrangement at the community-level sheds light on the consequences of Elder estrangement, and the possible factors relating to the experience of Elder estrangement.

To reiterate what I stated earlier, the Elders and younger Aboriginal peoples self-understandings will tell us about: (1) the ways in which Elders and their younger community members interact (intergenerational relationships) with one another within a historical, traditional, social and contemporary context; (2)

the defined social, cultural and traditional roles (or lack there of) of Elders in the community; (3) how major factors such as education, tribal nepotism and loss of language may be contributing to the estrangement of Elders in Aboriginal communities.

The community of Sagamok Anishnawbek, Ontario, was chosen as the case study for my research. Sagamok is one of several northern Anishnawbek communities that signed the Robinson Huron Treaty in 1850. Sagamok is a small Anishnawbek (Ojibwe, Odawa, and Pottawami) community located on the north shores of the Lake Huron (Toulouse 2001:3) in eastern Canada. This means that Sagamok has been open to the elements of colonial influences much longer than western First Nations in Canada. Thus, Sagamok has a history where there has been a more extensive loss of traditions and culture, than its western First Nation counterparts. Consequently, Sagamok is an ideal community for study of the estrangement of Elders, because it is currently in the process of ethnic renewal, where not only cultural practices are being redefined and renewed, but so are the roles of the Elders. Sagamok is a community that models the effects of colonialism, especially the effects of Christianity, which are imperative to the study of Elder's estrangement.

Sagamok Anishnawbek is a relatively large reserve, with a total membership of 1,760, and on-reserve population of 1,080 (Hoyle 1994:8). Sagamok has a young population; about 50.4 percent of the on-reserve population is under the age of 25 (Hoyle 1994:8). Other relevant factors are that Sagamok is accessible by road, and unlike the remote communities found in northern Ontario, has urban services and amenities close at hand in both the nearby town of Massey and larger urban centers (Hoyle 1994:8), such as Espanola and Sudbury.

Sagamok shares common features, and thus experiences, with other Aboriginal communities in Canada. For example, Sagamok and other Aboriginal communities are prone to share common social problems such as high suicides, learned helplessness, unemployment, and poor health. The fact that diverse Aboriginal communities share common characteristics means that other Aboriginal peoples and communities can learn from what is happening to the Elders and people of Sagamok Anishnawbek.

1.2.2 Research design

My approach to understanding the current realities of the Elders who are experiencing multiple oppression based on race, class, age (Dickson and Green 2001:471) and estrangement required a qualitative methodology. Mechanic (1995:1492) argues that traditional scientific or quantitative approaches are not suitable to explore questions about assumptions and meaning systems, and that interpretive qualitative methods are most appropriate for investigating how people construct and act on social meanings. A qualitative design is the best way to explore dynamic processes where questions of context, understanding and meaning are most important (Corbin and Strauss 1990; O'Neil et al. 1999). It is for these reasons that a qualitative design was chosen for this study.

The major consideration in selecting a qualitative design for this study was due to the fact that I wanted to create knowledge, not only as an end in itself, but also as a means for the Elders of Sagamok to empower themselves (Dickson and Green 2001:472-473) during the research process. Postcolonialism as a framework for my research allowed me to challenge colonial modes of perceptions about Aboriginal people.

I also wanted to reflect the critical skills that I have learned as an Aboriginal student of sociology and the Anishnawbek Way of Life, by focusing on social research that acknowledges the importance and validity of both social scientific knowledge and the cultural expressions of Anishnawbek knowledge. Thus, this kind of qualitative design involved collecting first hand accounts from the Anishnawbek people about their cultural body of knowledge of, and first hand experience with, their lived environment (Fletcher 2003:28).

1.2.3 Method of Data Collection

Data collection relied on the development, analysis and evaluation of documents, observations, and in-depth interviews (including life history information) of two separate generations to understand the double estrangement of Elders, conflicting cultural roles and traditions, and conflicted intergenerational relationships that are created and produced within the changing structural-historical context of Sagamok. The methods of data collection used for this study were ideal in the exploration and understanding of estrangement as an outcome at the juncture of differences that can exist between two generations (i.e. younger vs. older generation).

Over the last decades, books about Indian culture and history have been published in greater volume than ever before (Friesen 1995:3). Representative writers have included Aboriginal peoples, academics, and the media (Richardson 1989; Krotz 1990; York 1990). More recently, some of these authors have included written research about the people of Sagamok Anishnawbek First Nations reserve (Hoyle 1994; Warry 1998; Toulouse 2001). The analysis of documents by researchers who research Aboriginal peoples in addition to the studies conducted by Warry, Hoyle and Toulouse were extremely useful in gathering information about the current realities of Sagamok and its community members.

Wayne Warry (1998:3) in his book, "Unfinished Dreams," examines the rhetoric and reality of Aboriginal self-government. Among other Aboriginal communities in Canada, Warry pays some attention to the community of Sagamok by examining their views on self-government from a community perspective. Marcia Hoyle (1994) wrote a report of the Sagamok Anishnawbek justice research project entitled "Bringing Justice Home." Hoyle utilized a participatory action research approach in which the community considered the traditional means of solving disputes that have been replaced with the Canadian justice system. What followed was the beginning of a culturally appropriate model of justice that took into account the contemporary realties of Sagamok.

Pamela Toulouse (2001), Sagamok's first PhD, examined the underlying tensions between three school decision-making groups regarding the inclusion of Native cultural and language content in the curriculum of the tribally owned elementary school in her study entitled, "Sagamok Anishnawbek: The Decision Makers and Varying Conceptions of Cultural Inclusion at Beedabun School."

These studies all make very sophisticated arguments about their subject matter and provide an excellent background to the community of Sagamok and its members. Warry, Hoyle and Toulouse make constant reference to the importance of Elders (i.e. Elders importance for cultural renewal, language, retention of cultural practices, decolonization and so on), and these researchers have taken the initiative to consult with and include the opinions of Elders in constructing their theories. However, that is where the inclusion of Elders ends. Elders are consulted, but their own lived experiences in contemporary Sagamok are not addressed or seriously described in the dissemination of the above-mentioned studies. Thus, the reader has no real sense of understanding or knowledge about the situational needs, lifestyles, socio-economic status and roles of residing Elders that were consulted (and those not consulted) in previous studies done in Sagamok.

The benefits of my research articulate both the everyday life experiences of Sagamok's younger and older community members as social and cultural actors by committing to methods that incorporate their own self-understandings of how they define what their situational needs and concerns are, along with their everyday life experiences and realities as Anishnawbek people. Schultz (1967:105) reminds us that, "self-explication of our lived experiences takes place within the total pattern of experience". In accordance with this notion, I was encouraged to use in-depth interviews and observations (including documentation of field notes, and a journal of my impressions, ideas, and feelings as a researcher) within a post colonial and Indigenous framework as a best method to explore, answer and understand my research questions and objectives according to the lived experiences of Sagamok community members.

I used a combination of advertisement and snowball sampling for interviewees, which included contacting specific individuals with unique characteristics such as being business owners or off-reserve post secondary students. Interviews were informal, but guided by a protocol of open-ended questions[6] (see Appendix 1 – Preliminary Interview Guides[7]). I interviewed two separate small groups (4 members in each group) of Sagamok community members over the age of eighteen (see Appendix 2 – Interviewees). The first group consisted of younger community members between the ages of eighteen to thirty-five years of age, and the second group consisted of individuals over the age of 50 years.

---

[6] I followed the interview questionnaires as closely as possible, but I allowed interviewees to guide most of the dialogue. This caused much of the interviews to take place in the context of informal conversations, especially in the interviews conducted with Elders.

[7] Due to the difference in the two groups based on age and status (e.g. Elder and youth) and the different type of information that I attempted to gather from the two groups (i.e. notable differences in social and cultural experiences), it was necessary to have two separate and different interview guides.

It was necessary to have two small groups (younger and older), because I defined Elders chronologically (i.e. over the age of fifty). I chose to define Elders chronologically for two reasons. First, as mentioned earlier, I wanted to explore and understand Elder estrangement within the context of intergenerational conflict. By defining the Elders chronologically, I was more likely to observe differences between generations in terms of shared experiences. That is, those over fifty years are more likely to have direct experiences with Indian residential schools. Thus, their opinions and shared experiences will be much different than younger community members, because these older community members life experiences will have been affected by colonialism and Christianity in very different ways than those who people who never had to attend Indian residential school (as is demonstrated throughout this thesis).

Second, I pointed out at the beginning of this chapter that defining Elders can be quite difficult, and I did not want to get caught in the muddle of the immense political, social and cultural definitions of Elders that exist in Indian country. More clearly stated, I did not want the argument of who the Elders are to override the main goals and objectives of my research. Additionally, I purposely made the decision not to rely on whom the community of Sagamok pointed out as people who were Elders. I did this because I did not want my research process to contradict the arguments put forth in this paper (i.e. how Elders are estranged, and the extent of that estrangement), by not including possible interviewees just because they are not recognized and acknowledged by the community as Elders. I did not want to become part of the problem of marginalizing Elders and not recognizing their ability to contribute knowledge just because they are not widely recognized by the community.

I recognized all older interviewees as Community Elders (Ellerby 2001:7). I concluded that during the course of interviews I would be able to determine whether or not these individuals viewed themselves as Elders through their own self-understandings. All of my older interviewees were extremely humble and did not wish to be addressed as Elders. Nonetheless, it is my own opinion that the older community members, who I interviewed, are in fact Elders of the community. The Elders showed that they held extensive life experience and they possessed a wealth of practical and cultural knowledge about themselves and about the community of Sagamok.

For example, Chas[8] believed that he did not contribute to the community and also thought that the community never included him anything, so he stated that he was no Elder. Yet, Chas was a very experienced hunter and he knew all of the best fishing, hunting and trapping spots along the north shore of Lake Huron, and on the reserve. Briannajan, another Elder, knew where to gather berries and other food on the reserve, and knew when it was safe to swim, or to be outside during the seasons. Another Elder was a skilled craftswoman with birch bark from trees.

---

[8] All interviewee names have been changed. Furthermore, all interviews occurred in the Spring of 2004.

1.2.4 The Challenges

The bi-cultural methodology (i.e. the combination of Indigenous knowledge and postcolonialism) was designed to address internal and external validity and ethical issues, including the delicate and culturally sensitive nature of information to be collected, the non-questioning code of Aboriginal people (Myers et al. 1999:21), unique cultural and political sensitivities, and the role and ages of interviewees. Thus, four steps were taken: First, I relied on and referred to previous published documents on research with Aboriginal people[9]. Second, I relied on my own understandings of cultural protocol[10]; third, I adhered to the University of Alberta's ethical guidelines for research on human subjects. Fourth, to overcome language barriers, a translator was available to translate questions and answers.

In consultation with the translator and other Elders (who were not considered to be interviewees, but agreed to act as traditional counsellors for those who participated in this study), standard phrases and words for translation were agreed upon. However, the translator and use of Elders as counsellors were not necessary. None of the participants requested an Elder, and all interviewees could speak fluent English. It should also be mentioned that the translator and

---

[9] For in-depth discussions of research with First Nations people, see: Fraser 1994, Krupat 1996, Smith 1999, Brayboy 2000, and Fenge 2002.

[10] Protocol among the Anishnawbek is a method and process of maintaining good relationships through reciprocity. This means that gifts and offerings are given to those individuals who share knowledge. I approached the Elders with tobacco and requested their participation and to share their knowledge with me. I offered gifts of cloth when the interviews were completed to both younger and older interviewees in appreciation of sharing their narratives with me (See Bastien 1999:86-100 for a more in-depth discussion on cultural protocol in research with Elders).

Elders, acting as counsellors, did not any time have access to the personal information or any other identifying information of the interviewees.

An important concern that I had during the gathering, analysis and dissemination of data was that there might have been differences in understandings and interpretations of what was asked of the community members during the interviews, and their responses. However, my experience with the Anishnawbek during the interviews and as an Aboriginal person myself allowed me to observe that the Anishnawbek interviewed were quite articulate about those differences, and I was able to draw strength from their narratives in their attempts to overcome those differences.

For example, when I asked community members about what culture means to them, or how they would define culture, almost all community members and Elders interviewed did not respond right away, and instead attempted to reword my question to me. Regardless of how much they incorporated cultural practices into their lives, they all tended to understand that using the word culture in my question meant, "what does the Anishnawbek Way of Life signify" or understood this question in terms of "what does culture mean to your way of life" and they answered accordingly. In turn, I was able to observe whether or not they viewed culture as static or as a changing phenomenon. I was also able to observe how they integrated (or did not) the Anishnawbek culture into their way of life.

1.3 Overview of the Thesis

My research is meant to initiate some thinking about the current world that Elders now live in and to draw attention to the situational needs and concerns of Elders who have become doubly estranged. I want to encourage discussion on issues affecting Elders, such as intergenerational conflict, the decrease of identifiable traditional roles, and how they have become marginalized and tangential to their own communities. I believe that this is accomplished by rightfully placing the Anishnawbek experience and constructions of knowledge alongside the recognized processes of postcolonial theory. Each of the four chapters reflects the process of my journey and the Anishnabe blessings and teachings that I have received by the Anishnawbek Elders and people of Sagamok. The research process and the methodology that I used in this study are a (simultaneous) process of coming to know the Anishnawbek ways of interpreting relationships and responsibilities.

Chapter one has provided an understanding of the holistic nature of definitions, attributes and roles that are assigned to Aboriginal Elders. I present the concept of double estrangement, and the need for research to understand this phenomenon in a postcolonial era, but through the self-understandings and interpretations of Anishnawbek knowledge. The method I use is a bi-cultural approach to explore and understand Elder estrangement. This approach allows for holistic and interactive strategies that ensure the validity of the research process and collection of data.

Chapter two discusses how colonialism and Christianity has led to extensive and continuous social change in the community of Sagamok. Furthermore, this chapter discusses current issues in Sagamok that focus on the role of traditions and culture, the youth, and community interaction. More specifically, I discuss how younger and older community members engage with one another, and the associated positive and negative experiences that accompany intergenerational communication.

Chapter three focuses on the double estrangement of Anishnawbek Elders in Sagamok. I discuss how the compliance ideology of the Elders contributes to their experience of double estrangement. I will also describe how three major factors, namely, the formal education of younger community members, tribal nepotism and language barriers contribute to estrangement specific to Elders in Sagamok. I also introduce other plausible causes of Elder estrangement in Sagamok.

In the final chapter, I describe, reflect on, and give credit to the research process, because it gave me the opportunity to enter into a journey of decolonization and to make connections to the Elders and Anishnawbek people. I also discuss some of the challenges that are encountered, and possible issues for future research, to resituate and re-establish the Elders in the everyday community life of Sagamok.

Chapter 2: Social Change in Sagamok

Sagamok, like other northern Ontario reserves that were relatively isolated until about forty years ago, has experienced rapid and dramatics changes in social and family structure, economy, education, religion, social customs, language and band government (Hoyle 1994:14). Some of the more visible changes are a community-run school, a community centre, band administration building, a new health and social services centre, and new housing subdivisions (Hoyle 1994:4).

The loss of traditional cultural practices and beliefs has also changed the nature of the community (Hoyle 1994:14), which I will later explain. In this chapter, I discuss the historical events that have occurred in Sagamok, which today have an affect on the total environment of the community, especially on the role of culture and traditions, the youth, and community interaction (intergenerational relationships).

The discussion of current reality is necessary due in part to one of the objectives of this research, which is to explore the present tensions in Sagamok. The discussion involves the visions, voices and realities of Anishnawbek Elders. Understanding the historical context of Sagamok is important, if one wishes to consider the issues in Sagamok and of its people. This First Nation did not escape the forces that shaped the colonial relations between Native peoples and the Canadian state (Toulouse 2001:3).

2.1 Colonizing the Anishnawbek

The Anishnawbek are a living culture and the peoples' knowledge refers to a body of knowledge that is intimately connected to Anishnawbek cosmology and ways of knowing that are equated with the lived expressions of the epistemology, axiology, and ontology[11] (Toulouse 2001:4) of their past and present day realities. This knowledge forms the guidelines of what the people of Sagamok understand as the Anishnawbek Way of Life. The Anishnawbek Way of Life is a holistic way of relating to the world, which constitutes the identity of Anishnawbek people.

The history of colonization in Sagamok has been a disturbing one. Bastien (1999) refers to colonization as a process, which disconnects tribal people from their kinship alliances:

> This process is slow, insidious, and often is abstract in nature. The objective is to alter the identity, the self and the humanity of the colonized (28).

The process of colonization occurred in Sagamok by forcing the Anishnawbek to rethink and redefine their culture and beliefs in terms of reified abstractions. Together, the influence of colonialism and policies of genocide were so strong and persuasive that they constituted a challenge to one's cultural identity, and thus one's personal identity (Hogan 2000:9).

---

[11] Toulouse (2001:26) states that these terms come from a branch of philosophy: epistemology meaning the construction of knowledge and what counts as knowledge, axiology meaning values and the study of those values, ontology, meaning the exploration of 'why we are here'. Also see Bastien 1999.

Professor Raphael Lemkin coined the term "genocide" in 1944, when he published *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, where he wrote:

> ...Generally speaking, genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of life of nation groups, with the aim of annihilating the group themselves. (Davis & Zanis 1973, as quoted in Bastien 1999:28)

The term as defined by Professor Lemkin is consistent with the Canadian governmental policies, which formed a coordinated plan to disrupt and destroy (Bastien 1999:28-30) the essential foundations of the Anishnawbek Way of Life. Canadian government policies were genocidal (i.e. colonial, assimilationist and paternalistic) in nature, and were intended to destroy the culture and traditions of the Anishnawbek people (e.g., Indian residential schools, enfranchisement, and so on). This results in the destruction of the foundations of the Anishnawbek Way of Life, and ultimately should have caused the eradication of the Anishnawbek.

There were several genocidal policies imposed upon the people of Sagamok, intended to destroy the essential foundations of the their way of life. The systematic enforcement by the Canadian government to remove Aboriginal children from their families and communities to attend Indian residential schools is a policy directly responsible for the intergenerational breakdown and disassociation of Anishnawbek people from their Elders. The establishment of the residential school policy continues to negatively impact the overall well being of the Anishnawbek people.

The residential school system—a genocidal policy, paternalistic in nature—was based on the notion that Indian people were heathens, primitive, and lazy (Bastien 1999:29). Thus, Indian people were thought to lack proper and 'civilized' parenting skills. The forced attendance of Indian children at residential schools served the assimilationist agenda of the Canadian government. Enrolled on the pretext that they would receive a "Christian" education and be protected from their parents "backward" influence (Stout and Kipling 2003:iv), many children from Sagamok attended the infamous Spanish Residential School or Shingwauk Residential School in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario (Haig-Brown 1988:108).

In 1991, roughly 13 percent of the country's Aboriginal population self-identified as Survivors of the residential school system (Stout and Kipling 2003:iv). For those Survivors in Sagamok, most memories have been of a negative nature (Toulouse 2001:5). The Survivors who agreed to be a part of my research study did not report instances of physical or sexual abuse, which Toulouse (2001:5) reports were suffered by the Elders of Sagamok at residential schools. Instead they tended to focus on the fear that was instilled into them (no doubt by corporal punishment and other methods of emotional or mental abuse) for attempting to practice their language and culture.

> Elders, even today are scared. They are scared to talk, especially the Elderly, Elderly. You know those Elders over sixty. They are scared about what was instilled into them about how bad it was to be involved with Native culture. So they still believe in these ways, they are still colonized. So it is hard to involve them in community events and decisions. (Briannajan, Elder)

> My Elders did not do a good job teaching me, and not for anyone else either here in Sagamok, because Indian Affairs did not allow them...we had to go to residential schools. We never saw the Elders, and Indian Affairs never recognized Elders. Elders probably feel inadequate because they were not allowed to teach their own children, and some Elders are too scared of what happened to them when they were in residential schools, so they keep traditions and teachings hidden from their own children, because they still believe that they will be punished. Some Elders still believe that the Queen is the protector of them.
> (Dashaye, Elder)

Miller (1996) in his book, "Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools," provides countless personal accounts by Survivors who were subject to neglect and in some instances extreme cases of physical and sexual abuse at the hands of the staff at Shingwauk Indian Residential School. Survivors interviewed by Miller, bitterly recalled enforced attendance, non-Indian staff who denigrated Aboriginal culture and mistreated them, inadequate food and excessive chores, runaways and beatings, and, perhaps most persistently, the way in which their residential schooling experience at Shingwauk had failed to prepare them to be successful after they left the school. What Miller (1996:205) terms "the residential schools systematic assault on Aboriginal identity" is evident in Sagamok. The effects of the Indian residential school Legacy[12] have become foundational events in the lived culture of the Sagamok. Toulouse (2001:5) also argues that these negative experiences that occurred to Sagamok members in residential schools[13] also occurred in federal day schools, public schools and separate schools.

---

[12] In their report, " Aboriginal People, Resilience and the Residential School Legacy," which was prepared for the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, Stout and Kipling (2003:i) provide a definition of the Legacy of physical and sexual abuse in residential schools: often referred to as the "Legacy," means the on-going direct and indirect effects of physical and sexual abuse at residential schools. The Legacy includes the effects on Survivors, their families, descendents and communities (including communities of interest). These effects may include, and are not limited to, family violence, drug alcohol and substance abuse, physical and sexual abuse, loss of parenting skills and self-destructive behavior.

The coming of Christianity in its various forms has had a drastic impact upon the community of Sagamok. By the 1940's and 1950's Sagamok had also become divided by Catholic and Anglican missions, who vied for converts (Warry 1998:214). It was St. Raphael's Catholic Church that had most influence in Sagamok. Father John Duggan, who is the priest, still lives on the reserve today overseeing the religious duties of St. Raphael's Church, and up until the early 1990's there were still at least two nuns who lived on reserve with the priest. Further confusing the development of religious differences (i.e. to be Catholic or Anglican) was the continuing allegiance, to varying degrees, to traditional ways (Warry 1998:214). As one political leader put it, "Sagamok is really three or four communities, not one" (Hoyle 1994:14). The influence of Christianity from both residential schools and on-reserve missions has resulted in the loss or severe curtailing of traditional spiritual beliefs and practices (Hoyle 1994:14). The doctrine of most churches historically positioned the 'Native way of life' as heathen and hell bound; and many people in Sagamok still view the 'Native Way' as such, as one of my interviewees made clear:

---

[13] It is not my intention to provide such an extreme cursory summary of a complex, yet historically important issue affecting Aboriginal people as a whole across Canada. The overall effects of the Legacy in Sagamok will become more evident throughout this paper. As my discussion continues, the reader will get a sense of how the Legacy affects the acceptance and rejection of culture in Sagamok, intergenerational communication, and is an underlying cause that promotes other factors that have lead to the estrangement of Elders in Sagamok. There is an abundance of published research on the Indian residential school experience in Canada. I would suggest for a more detailed description and discussion of Indian residential schools and the Legacy, see Johnston 1983, Haig-Brown 1988, Knockwood 1992, Furniss 1995, Claes and Clifton 1998, Deiter 1999, Milloy 1999, and Stout and Kipling 2003.

> There are some Elders in the community that are dead set against culture and traditions. The Church, Catholicism really affected the people over 50 (years old) here. I remember a lot of church activities when I was growing up, not cultural activities. The ones that I see that have a stand against the culture on the reserve are the people over fifty here.
> (Angel, Community Member)

Most recently, Pentecostalism, with its emphasis on sobriety and self-reliance has also found an audience on many reserves (Warry 1998:214). This is also true for Sagamok. There is a Pentecostal church[14] that is active, and in the summer the Pentecostal members regularly hold weekend camp prayer meetings.

Faced with a colonial system that was never intended to reflect and affirm Anishnawbek culture and identity, Sagamok suffers from a high volume of familial breakdown, high school drop outs, violence and crime,[15] and the significant loss of the Anishnabe language and traditions (Hoyle 1994; Warry 1998; Toulouse 2001).

The necessity of telling this part of the story is crucial to understanding the contemporary context (Toulouse 2001:8) of the role of culture and tradition, the current realities of the youth, and community relationships in Sagamok. I offer this brief snapshot of colonial history to suggest that today, community life in Sagamok is "overlain with claims of history, cultural status, language, and religious beliefs" (Warry 1998:215). In sum, the community of Sagamok, historically located in a colonial situation that permeated every aspect of cultural and societal life (Toulouse 2001:3), today is internally divided and complex.

---

[14] I should mention that in Sagamok, there are five standing church buildings (this includes two churches that are no longer used actively by St. Raphael's). Of the three church building that are still used on reserve, only the Catholic Church and Pentecostal church regularly have meetings with its members. The Anglican Church today, only functions on a request basis (e.g. for funerals, weddings and other special occasions). When I asked members in Sagamok about when the Pentecostal church was built, or a Pentecostal community started in Sagamok, the earliest that most could recall was either the late 1970's and/or the early 1980's.

[15] See Marcia Hoyle 1994, Bringing Justice Home: Report of the Sagamok Anishnawbek Justice Research Project. McMaster University: Fund for Dispute Resolution.

2.2 Current Issues in Sagamok

Living in Sagamok is stressful for its members. High levels of poverty, unemployment, underemployment, poor housing conditions, poor health, low educational attainment, low occupational attainment, and discrimination that can characterize living in Aboriginal communities (Bienvenue and Goldstein 1985; Simpson and Yinger 1985; RCAP 1996; Statistics Canada 2001) are all experienced in Sagamok. I will discuss how the aforementioned determinants and the lasting effects of colonialism affect the role of culture and traditions, youth, and intergenerational relationships in contemporary Sagamok, which in turn have an impact on how Elders are addressed and treated by Sagamok community members.

2.2.1 The Role of Culture and Tradition

Toulouse (2001:3) believes that the people of Sagamok have long endured the attempted genocide of their Nation, but have never lost their sense of identity—that they are and continue to be the Anishnawbek people. I agree with Toulouse, but I would argue that this 'sense of identity' is a vague one, complicated by Sagamok's struggle for ethnic renewal. Nonetheless, I strongly agree that a sense of identity, or the feeling of belonging to traditions and culture, has historically remained with the people of Sagamok, despite Sagamok's extensive experiences with colonialism and Christianity.

In recent years, there has been a resistance to dominant western practices, and a return to traditional Anishnawbek ways. Foucault (1978) points out, "where there is power, there is resistance" (as quoted in Nygren 1998:33). This means that domination is a process, "where the structure changes through struggle and resistance, and where the cultural continuity manifests itself in the reconstruction of narratives, metaphors and meanings" (Restall 1933, as quoted in Nygren 1998:33). Having undergone systematic and social change as a result of colonization and Christian influences, some of Sagamok's members have become alienated from their Anishnabe identities. However, due to resistance in Sagamok there is now a process of ethnic renewal occurring in the community. Ethnic renewal is "the construction of individual or collective ethnic identity by reclaiming a discarded identity, replacing or amending an identity in an existing identity repertoire, or filling a personal ethnic void" (Nagel 1995:948).

Giddens (1990) argues, "in traditional societies, the past is honored and symbols are valued because they contain and perpetuate the experience of the generations. Tradition is a means of handling time and space, which inserts any particular activity or experience within the continuity of past, present, and future and these in turn are structured by recurrent social practices."(37-38). "Sociologists have long identified forms of ethnic change associated with intergroup contact, such as assimilation, accommodation, and acculturation" (Glazer and Moynihan 1963; Gordon 1961; Park 1928, as quoted in Nagel 1995:949), all of which have been experienced in the changing nature of Sagamok's community. This has resulted in traditions being borrowed, blended, rediscovered, and reinterpreted (Kelly and Nagel 2002:286). Simultaneously then, in Sagamok, there is a struggle for both individual and collective ethnic renewal. As a result of this process traditional, social and cultural institutions and practices are being created (Kelly and Nagel 2002:275).

Traditional customs and ceremonies that emphasized societal principals disappeared in Sagamok, at least publicly, and have only been revived as public ceremonies over the last ten years or so (Hoyle 1994:20). One example, is the naming ceremony, which remembers the sacrifices of Original Man in naming everything, and requires that a medicine person be asked by the father and mother to seek a name for their child. Cultural resurgence has only recently begun in this community; thus, Sagamok is in a discontinuous state of being and a continual process of becoming. Exactly how Sagamok is negotiating its current economic, political and social terms in order to reestablish traditional values, and an understanding of the Anishnabek Way of Life is a task that goes beyond the limits of this paper. Nonetheless, I think it necessary to draw attention to the part of postcolonial struggles for ethnic identity in Sagamok, where the community is in the process of the "active" retelling of the past (Nygren 1998:31) that contributes to divisions within the community. These divisions lie in how to interpret culture, traditions, practices and associated roles after decades of imposed colonialism, and the influence of Christianity.

For example, in Sagamok there is the argument between Elders and community members about whether or not culture is static. Perhaps it is the ongoing struggle for political and cultural sovereignty, or the need to keep culture hidden so that it would no longer be interfered with, that has led some people in Sagamok to talk about culture as if it were a fixed and corporeal thing (Brown 1998:197).

> There is a great concern how culture is defined, since a lot of First Nation's people have been taught the Whiteman's religion, and they also believe this is their traditions. Culture to me, is the way teachings were taught 500 years ago by the Elders. Culture needs to remain sacred and untouched.
> (Omar, Elder)

On the other hand, for some members of Sagamok, it is hard to talk of rebuilding their culture in terms of a return to static pre-contact cultures. Traditions need to be recuperated but they cannot always claim authenticity, and as such some community members understand that their traditions have been affected by colonization. Thus, they are in the process of wanting to understand how Christianity has affected the learning and teachings of their ceremonies in their community. This contributes to their understanding that their culture is in a continuous state of being and becoming, which means that for many people in Sagamok, Aboriginal culture is dynamic, not static – it evolves, adapting to new conditions.

> Culture is adaptable; I do not believe that culture is a fixed set of beliefs. One thing I carry from my teachers is that they say their teachings are not said and done, there is still more to learn. You know, so we can make advances, like when you do a theory. You have to accept all other explanations so that you can be adaptable, and never just follow one explanation for cultural ways. We need diversity in our teachings to keep an open mind to other things.
> (Chalize, Community Member)

Most of the members from Sagamok who were interviewed thought of culture in ways similar to Brown's (1998:197) definition: a flexible set of understandings, dispositions and behavioral scripts that change through time and freely influence and are influenced by social interactions with other groups. However, because some members treat culture as fixed, this has had an effect on how other community members experience and conform to cultural practices.

> I get excited about the issues, and to share what I know, but because there are Elders out there who just take bits of traditions, or who are very knowledgeable like the Elders are out West, plus some Elders have strict ways to teach things. I am afraid of other Elders who might critize, demean or make fun of what I have to share or teach to younger people, because they (Elders) might think my knowledge is not as good, or as true to the old ways.
> (Briannajan, Elder)

At the same time some community members who doubt culture can remain unchanged, also question the idea of what it means to live a traditional way of life, and as a result question the validity of traditional teachings.

> We will never go back 100% to living traditional ways, because we have television and VCR's. We know the easy life.
> (Chas, Elder)

> I think culture should change, I always hear the Elders scolding, or say that is not supposed to happen or this is not the way it was done before. How do they know for sure?
> (Sasheahna, Community Member)

Religion and more specifically Christianity established under colonialism in Sagamok still influences the process of cultural resurgence in Sagamok, and on an individual's choice to freely participate in their culture.

> I do not practice my culture, because I am stuck in between the religious and traditional ways. So I stay neutral.
> (Sasheahna, Community Member)

An older person also stated:

> I do not specifically practice traditional ways. I only learn about traditional teachings at workshops that I have to attend as part of my job-related duties. A good thing is that cultural teachings have been incorporated with Catholic teachings, and manuals have been developed to show the Indian way and religion.
> (Dashaye, Elder)

The Catholic Church in Sagamok is very aware of the movement towards cultural resurgence, and this is probably a deep concern for the Church. Interestingly, the Church in Sagamok has reacted by becoming more and more Indigenized. St. Raphael's Catholic Church is now called "St. Raphael's Spiritual Center & Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha."[16] The day before leaving Sagamok, I attended a service at St. Raphael's and made some interesting observations. Inside of the church, there is a huge painted mural on the wall of Jesus Christ with his hands outreached. Jesus is adorned in Native regalia on top of his white robe, wearing a beaded choker (on his choker there is a painted squirrel), and leather fringed wrist cuffs decorated with two hanging Eagle Feathers. When the service began, an Eagle Feather was brought out along with Sweetgrass. An elderly lady lit the Sweetgrass and began to pray in Ojibwa, and walked over to the priest who smudged with the Sweetgrass. The lady then offered the smudge to other church members, and smudged the Church. I do not know if the Church's openness towards practices of the Anishnabe culture is out of an increased sense of awareness or sensitivity for Native culture, or if this is a method used to keep and/or draw members into the Church under the veil of being culturally sensitive to the needs of the Anishnawbek people. Perhaps it is both.

---

[16] Kateri Tekakwitha (1656-1680) was declared venerable by Pope Pius XII and beatified in 1980 by Pope John Paul II. Kateri (her name means all things that move before her) was the daughter of a Christian Algonquin woman who was captured by Iroquois and married to a Mohawk chieftain. Kateri was orphaned when her family died during a smallpox epidemic. The disease also left her with a pocked face and impaired eyesight. She was the first Native American proposed for canonization. Source: Broderick 1976.

There are different levels of acceptance of culture in Sagamok. Toulouse (2001:9) states that when culture is packaged as a celebration of the Creator/earth through the use of sweat lodges, drums, regalia, dancing and ceremonies, most extreme religious members in Sagamok reject it. However, when culture is packaged in a less authentic manner there is an acceptance of it by various members from different religions. There are also some community members who reject learning about and practicing culture altogether, and they will take measures to ensure that their children are not exposed to Anishnawbek culture.

> When cultural activities are run at the school we often note that various parents have their children pulled from school for that day. Also, when teachers try to incorporate Native culture or history in the mainstream curriculum we hear the same complaints. Children are taken from the class when Native culture is present.
> (Toulouse 2001:9)

Aside from the influence of religion on the acceptance of culture in Sagamok, there is a lack of interest, resources and access to Elders. The lack of interest to learn about or practice Anishnabe culture is evident even among the Elders in Sagamok.

> I don't even want to be included in the band office, community or anything…I don't even ask questions about what the hell is going on…I personally have not been to a powwow in thirty years. I do not practice my tradition, none at all, because that means having to go out, and I do not want to bother.
> (Chas, Elder)

Another person stated:

> I will sometimes go out of my way to involve the Elders in community events. I will offer rides, but I notice Elders would rather be left alone.
> (Briannajan, Elder)

Reincorporating cultural beliefs and traditions to encourage collective ethnic renewal and identity in Sagamok is a complicated issue. The personal journeys described by many community members involve an apparent contradiction: they go forward by going back (Nagel 1995:960); or as one member characterized it to me:

> I practice my traditions; I am going back to the traditional way of life. It's hard because I had no one showing traditions to me. I grew up as a Catholic. I am going back, but it is going to take time to gather a way of life at 56.
> (Briannajan, Elder)

This process of 'going back' often involves a spiritual component that for many Aboriginal people, represents the symbolic core of *Indianness* and is a central part of the ethnic renewal process (Nagel 1995:960).

Some community members have lost faith in Sagamok as a community, because they feel marginalized, excluded or devalued. I believe that this plays a great role in the expectations that community members have in regards to their

Elders. That is, in order to come to an understanding about their own identities, and to 'go back' to the culture and traditions, they assume that Elders can guide them in the process of ethnic renewal. For instance, many community members felt that Elders held knowledge and experience required to learn about the traditional way of life.

> I believe that Elders are responsible for teaching the community about the traditional way of life. They know how to teach the Seven Grandfathers to us, the purpose of the medicine wheel, and how important language is to us.
> (Ethan, Community Member)

> Elders are responsible for teaching the community about the traditional way of life, because what if there are more people like me who feel that they need to know, but never get around too it, like procrastinators. They (Elders) have the wisdom.
> (Angel, Community Member)

The alternative to return to the traditional ways can both strengthen and weaken ethnic group solidarity: it is strengthened by the cultural renewal activities and inflow of resources generated by re-identifying (Kelly and Nagel 2002:275) the importance and significance of group members (in this case, the importance of the Elder); but is contradicted (weakened) by the increasing marginalization of Elders. The traditional roles once associated to cultural concepts of the past, and those being reintroduced and created at present is a contested arena of struggle over representation and authenticity (Gonzalez 1988; Hall 1990). While it may not be possible to restore the Anishnawbek traditional roles and social systems to their original strength, all strategies undertaken by the people of Sagamok toward ethnic renewal by way of decolonization, need to reflect and be cognizant of their history in order to protect their traditional systems in ways that are consistent with their honored traditions (Jacko 2001:15). This is absolutely essential if the community of Sagamok wishes for its youth to engage in the traditional way of life, free from the negative by-products of colonialism (i.e. the Indian residential school experience and the Legacy) that have caused the internal struggles and confusion over what it means to be Anishnabe.

The experiences of the youth highlight the intergenerational effects of the Legacy that has interfered with the physical, emotional, mental and spiritual life of community members (Lafrance 2003:120). Through personal stories, community members manifested the extent to which the Legacy and colonialism have profoundly impaired the political, ecological, and economic conditions of the youth.

2.2.2 The Youth of Sagamok

The youth are not doing very well in contemporary Sagamok. They have become disillusioned, distressed and are suffering from learned helplessness[17]. Warry (1998:84) explains learned helplessness in the following manner:

> From an Aboriginal perspective, individual and community problems do not stem simply from poor socioeconomic conditions, but are also directly attributable to low cultural esteem, or to a lack of cultural identity, which is critical to feelings of self-worth. A feeling of control over one's life is an essential element to positive self-image and physical well-being. Psychologists have used such concepts as 'learned helplessness' and 'acculturative stress,' to explain a variety of Native mental health

---

[17] Warry (84) suggests for more information see RCAP 1994, I also suggest Peterson, Maier, and Seligman 1995.

> problems. Some Aboriginal people describe these psychological conditions as resulting from 'internalized oppression,' the psychosocial process whereby individual Natives internalize the collective experience of colonization and experience feelings of powerlessness, low cultural esteem, and poor self-image.

Anishnawbek youth have witnessed first hand how the consequences of colonialization have victimized their Elders and leaders, stripping them of their power and traditional authority. The youth are helpless in the face of unemployment, violence, suicide, and drug and alcohol abuse.

Youth in Sagamok, like their Elders, have opinions that are sometimes not valued, but there is a difference between the two groups: when you do get Elders or youth to talk, Elders tend to be turned into objects of folklore, while youth tend not to be heard at all. For the most part, Aboriginal youth feel that their leaders and communities do not acknowledge their concerns, issues and opinions (RCAP 1996:151) in a manner that is sensitive to them. This is truly ironic since in most, if not all Aboriginal communities, youth constitute the largest segment of membership; their opinions then, should have a major impact on community decisions. Hoyle (1994:11) states that where the youth do have a major impact, is in relation to the situational factors in Sagamok, where the high-risk behaviors of the youth give rise to high levels of social problems such as violence, crime, and drug and alcohol abuse.

> When we asked people: "What do you think are the major causes of youth crime and trouble in Sagamok?" After alcohol and drugs, the most commonly mentioned one was "boredom" or "there's nothing for them to do." The general feeling expressed by people in the interviews, including the youth themselves, was that the youth are drinking, taking drugs, partying all night and vandalizing property because there is nothing much

> else for them to do in the evening and on weekends, that there are not enough recreational facilities and programs to meet their needs (11).

Considering the pressures resulting from dramatic social change exerted on the social and traditional structures in Sagamok, for most youth, the probability of engaging in behaviors that have devastating long-term consequences is extremely difficult to avoid. These behaviors result in enormous social costs, as measured in the pain they themselves experience, the pain of their peers, and families. The social costs can and often do include a fundamental deterioration of the quality of community life in general (Thatcher 2001:34).

Youth respond, reinterpret and challenge even as they accept and are shaped by their past and present experiences. I believe that this is a major reason for their ability to remain optimistic even in the face of adversity. The youth in Sagamok despite their social problems are in a process of discovering continuity in change, and tradition in modernity (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:6). Many youth want to learn about what it means to be an Anishnabe person in the modern world. The youth and younger community members clearly have a sense of belonging, because they believe culture is sustainable.

> We can never lose what we have. It is important to us. There are different cultures, Natives, Whiteman, Black man. We all run under a different culture and belief.
> (Ethan, Community Member)

I believe this sense of 'belonging' is what drives the youth's interest to learn about the values and beliefs of their people. Not all youth, of course, want to return to a traditional lifestyle, and some lack the motivation to learn about their culture. Still, there are Anishnawbek youth who wish to have the opportunity and resources available to learn about their language, culture and traditional values given the colonial history that has shaped their personal identities.

> Understanding themselves as Aboriginal people is important to youth because it directly affects their self-esteem, which in turn affects their motivation to strive for a better tomorrow. Aboriginal youth have been bombarded by negative images of their people: Inaccurate portrayals in the media, in old and not so old movies and television shows, and in school curricula that distort or ignore the contributions of Aboriginal cultures. They also face day-to-day, street level racism and government and public policies that continue to devalue Aboriginal people and culture. They see members of their communities ravaged by substance abuse and physical abuse and they wonder, is that what it means to be an Aboriginal person? (RCAP 1996:154)

Youth may be able to describe and define their culture in reference to a sense of belonging, but the greater difficulty lies in self-defining who they are. Thus, establishing a cultural identity for the youth may be a major step towards ethnic renewal in Sagamok. This may be realm then, where Elders can assist the youth in reaffirming their sense of belonging, in order to guide them in their struggle of becoming. However, this is not usually the case, and in the next section it becomes evident that much of the community interaction that takes place in Sagamok occurs intragenerationally and within the context of the family.

2.3 Community Interaction and the Role of the Elders

For the most part, when younger community members do approach Elders it is mainly to seek out advice on traditions, culture or some subject linked to the past. It is rarely the case where younger community members will interact with Elders, just for the sake of interaction. Younger community members in Sagamok indicated that they felt more comfortable talking to Elders at ceremonial or traditional events.

> I do not interact with Elders often…I will talk to Elders at the language conferences they have in April, it makes me happy that they talk to me in the Native language. I notice that other people my own age interact with Elders when there's a pow-wow. Some of us talk to them at the fire pit and ask them how their day is going and if they are enjoying themselves. Some of the drummers ask them if they would like to sit down with them at the drum. Mostly just at cultural events my friends talk to Elders and me too. It is more comfortable for some reason at those kinds of things.
> (Ethan, Community Member)

> Others my own age do not interact with the Elders. Yes for prayers, yes for community events…for work, I guess they (Elders) are like way up there, like with their opinions or authority. I usually have to make sure to get an answer from Elders (job-related historical information).
> (Sasheahna, Community Member)

> I only have work-related relationships with Elders or if I sit on committees with them. So I only have a professional connection to the Elders, about six of them.
> (Angel, Community Member)

Further marginalized, older Native people have sought refuge in the family unit. Their only ability to salvage self-esteem and self-worth seems to be their willingness to take care of a generation who has been entrusted to them[18] (Frideres 1994:31).

> I don't care to be around the community. I just want to stay home and baby-sit my grandkids…I sometimes feel that I can't contribute anything to better the way of life on the reserve. I am just more interested in focusing on my own family.
> (Chas, Elder)

---

[18] Aboriginal Elders are nearly two times more likely (16% versus 7%) to be living with extended family members compared to the mainstream population (Dumont-Smith 2002:8). Overall, about 50% of the Elderly Native population lives in extended, multigenerational families contributing economically to the family (Frideres 1994:36). Also see Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics - Statistics Canada 2001.

> I am glad that I am a young Elder, young grandmother. This way I am able to spend time with my grandchildren, and help take care of them. (Briannajan, Elder)

The Elders in Sagamok have a great devotion to family harmony and their family members, and their willingness in some cases "to provide day care to younger relatives" (Baldridge 2001:1518) should suggest a symbiotic relationship between the generations. However, many older Native people are dependent upon outsiders for economic and social support, e.g., social welfare agencies, religious institutions, and so on (Frideres 1994:31).

Many Aboriginal Elders are being taken advantage of by their families (Hohn 1986:38), and because of their devotion to family unity often older Native people allow their own needs to come last (Hohn 1986:27). Brown's 1989 study found that Elder victims of financial exploitation felt that "giving money to family members in need was a cultural duty; they insisted that it was their duty to share financial resources with family members even if they were severely deprived as a result" (7). This may be exacerbated by younger family members who sponge off or charge excessive amounts for assistance such as transportation (Hohn 1986:38).

The lack of attention towards the Elders situation in Sagamok might be due to the mistaken assumption that the mistreatment of Elders is unlikely, because of the respect Native cultures accord older adults (Buchwald et al. 2000:562). The Elders are aware of their diminished social, economic, cultural and spiritual roles and they readily admit to situations in which they find themselves outside and peripheral in their own community.

> A lot of young people, when they walk by you, they don't look at you. They don't acknowledge Elders. They act like they don't see you…Younger community members do not take the initiative to include Elders in their lives…there should be a program for the intergenerational community to learn how to communicate; all four groups, infants, young, adults and Elders.
> (Briannajan, Elder)

> As an older person I do feel left out of the community. I have never received a personal invitation to an event as an older person of the community outside of my job-related duties. I did not ignore the Elders when I was young. They were part of the community, more so back then. Elders always had something to tell you…When I am an Elder I will be involved, but I will probably have to take the initiative to be included because this will be new to the community, to think of including the Elders.
> (Dashaye, Elder)

> I don't know if Elders have meaningful roles in the community. The only thing I do is vote. I don't think I contribute all that much to this community.
> (Chas, Elder)

The perseverance of the Elders to remain included as social actors in their community in some manner outside of their families was encouraging, and some Elders are willing to promote their roles and significance within the community.

> I believe that my job gives me an important role in this community. As older person, I alone cannot provide guidance for solutions to problems on the reserve. To do that, it needs to be supported by the whole community, but as an older person I can be helpful to younger people. The people are slow in recognizing Elders as an important part of the community. I plan to go and out and share my knowledge with the community…I wish Elders would demand that respect. I will insist on this when I am Elder. Nowadays, Elders do not demand respect, and that is the problem. I will demand it.
> (Dashaye, Elder)

> I have a significant role in the community because of my background in the community. I have a very experienced and educated background. I believe that I possess knowledge that I can share with younger people because of my life experiences…I have been an example to others by my personal life, health, educational, and professional experiences, because I have learned to accept myself.
> (Briannajan, Elder)

Still there is reluctance by older and younger generations to engage in open communication outside of the family. The reluctance by some community members to engage in intergenerational contact outside of the family contributes to the diminishing roles of the Elders. In the process, Elders have become more and more marginalized and estranged from participating in the community and from their community members.

> Interacting with younger people is one area that is lacking in my life…I often go the community resource centre, and I have learned to use the computer. I meet up with youth there, but they often do not stop to talk. Sometimes they will say hi, but mostly just if they are related to me…Elders do not try to interfere with youth from other families. Probably because there are too many problems with the youth in their own families, and it looks like you are pointing fingers or overstepping boundaries if you interfere with youth from another family.
> (Omar, Elder)

> No, others my own age will not interact with the young…Younger people do have the same respectful protocols for one another that Elders do.
> (Briannajan, Elder)

> I do not take an active role in including Elders in my life, only with certain Elders who are my family…People my age, other than visiting grandparents do not take an active role to interact with the Elders.
> (Angel, Community Member)

> Sometimes I do interact with them (Elders). I ask my grandma for help on anything that I need.
> (Ethan, Community Member)

Intergenerational communication is highly influenced by peer groups and reference groups. In both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal societies the act of identifying with a specific group of peers segregates community members from other age groups. I believe that Elders understand this, and they are not exactly interested in becoming a member of a younger person's peer group. However, Elders realize that a younger person's reference group interferes with their ability to effectively communicate and understand them, especially the youth.

> Teenagers have a different way of talking; they have their own lingo. I have to sometimes ask for an explanation.
> (Dashaye, Elder)
>
> The younger people are not interested in learning about the old way of life. The young ones have a world of their own, like electronics and that type of life. I do not go the same functions that youth do, but I am open to them if they need to talk or ask for something. I very rarely venture into this zone.
> (Omar, Elder)

Since community members are not likely to incorporate each other into one another's peer groups, understanding each other's reference groups is not easily achieved.

In Korea, Park and Kim (1992:399) claim that growing old represents signs of grace and respect, and like Aboriginal people, age is the first consideration when individuals communicate with one another. However, other images of aging among Aboriginal people are emerging. Bennett and Eckman (1973) "connect negative Western attitudes towards the elderly to values of individualism combined with industrialization" (as quoted in Williams et al. 1997:373). Some Aboriginal people may be showing a similar pattern, especially among young people as a result of their historic experiences in Canada, which has contributed to the confusion over how to treat their Elders.

Negative attitudes are apparent among some younger and older people in Sagamok toward each other. This is especially visible in circumstances where community members feel that their Elders over-accommodate (patronizing talk) them. Williams et al. (1997:375) states that older people over-accommodate[19] the young using at least three different kinds of speech: non-listening (e.g., "the youth don't listen to what I have to say"), stereotypical disapproving communication (e.g., "You're all just party animals!"), and over-parenting (e.g., "when you get older you will see that this was best").

> I'm shy to talk to them (Elders) because some of them see me walking down the road when I'm drunk, and I feel scared to talk to them. They hear the stuff that I do over the weekend…I always hear Elders and other older people discussing the gossip that happens on the reserve. They are always saying, "Those kids just party, they cause trouble." So it makes me shy because I think that they must think that way of me. I feel scared of what they might say to me, because they only see me, they do not have personal conversations with me. So they don't know how I really am, they just see the drunken kid partying.
> (Ethan, Community Member)

Statements from an older member of the community confirm the feelings of over-accommodation by this individual:

> I don't really associate with the youth. They all just want to go out partying…I have ignored young people on purpose too. I have because I got into trouble with them at my camp. They wanted my booze and I would not give it to them…Young people can't contribute anything useful,

---

[19] Williams et al. (1997:370) provide definitions for both Elder accommodation and non-accommodation. When older people are perceived as supportive, attentive and generally encouraging to young people, this is Elder accommodation. On the other hand Elder non-accommodation occurs when older people negatively stereotype the young and do not attend to their communication needs.

> not to me anyways…There are no jobs, no resources, lots of them don't even have jobs. They have a lack of drive. They got into the habit of going to welfare and so now they just don't want to get up. It's pretty hard to say what the solution for this would be, because it's up to them if they want or don't want to do anything with their lives. Instead of going to town to get drunk, and they start Thursday right to Sunday.
> (Chas, Elder)

Williams and Giles (1996) asked young undergraduates in the United States to recall and describe recent conversations with older non-familial persons. In open-written accounts they were asked to describe in detail two conversations, one satisfying and the other dissatisfying (dissatisfying conversations were linked to overaccomadation, of which I have already provided an example). Satisfying conversations with older people included the following components: When the older person was supportive, listened, attentive, and where mutual understanding was achieved. This could possibly be a reason why younger people in Sagamok felt more comfortable in situations where they meet and talk with Elders at ceremonial or traditional events. At these types of events, Elders are expected by younger community members to be supportive and attentive, because at these events Elders offer advice and cultural teachings. Thus, reaching a mutual agreement on the subject matter of conversations with the Elders are easily achieved, because the younger people are approaching the Elders to seek out advice on traditions, culture or some subject linked to the past.

On the other hand, the youth in intergenerational encounters will also over-accommodate their Elders. In other words, some young people linguistically depersonalize their Elders by becoming overly polite, warm and grammatically and/or ideationally simple in their presence (Edwards & Noller 1993; Kemper 1994; William et al. 1997). Furthermore, Williams and Giles (1996) reported that young people tend to describe themselves as "reluctantly accommodating" to older dissatisfying partners—they had to restrain themselves by "biting their tongue" and felt under an obligation to show respect for age. Some community members felt that they have an obligation to respect and listen to the Elders.

> We are supposed to be respectful to Elders.
> (Angel, Community Member)
>
> I respect Elders because I am told to respect Elders personally I do not though.
> (Sasheahna, Community Member)

I would like to offer a personal account to demonstrate how younger people sometimes reluctantly accommodate their Elders:

> I recently attended the Eighth Annual International Conference on Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS) in Edmonton, Alberta. The conference offered an Indigenous stream of Indigenous advisors, Elders, and academics from all over the world. One particular seminar featured Elders (women) who shared Aboriginal traditional teachings on best practices for parenting. One Elder (Jane Doe) told the group that as younger Aboriginal women, if we are pregnant we should not have sex with our husbands until we give birth. The Elder said a father never visits his unborn child or else when the baby is born it will be covered in too much semen. The baby's eyes, ears and throat will be clogged with semen, and that's why so many Indian babies have ear, eye and throat problems. When the session ended several of us laughed about what the Elder had to say. Yet, during the seminar none of us dared to challenge the Elder. We all just nodded and kept silent until we were out of earshot from the Elders.
> (Teachings of the Moon – Women Elder's Circle on Parenting, July 4, 2004)

Reluctantly accommodating the Elders and the over-accommodation by both older and younger Anishnawbek promotes a lack of understanding about one another's situational needs and concerns.

To summarize, today's Elders are consciously aware of the effect of cultural disruption brought on by colonization and Christianity, and have a fear and mistrust of Canadian structures and institutions. Mussell (1994:52) states "as children they were subjected to harsh methods of punishment for not conforming and failing to meet expectations, which were often unrealistic and inappropriate. Opportunities to grow emotionally, intellectually and spiritually were not priority goals of the church and government". Furthermore, today's Elders did not fully acquire the values, skills, language, culture and religion of the dominant society (Lafrance 2003:126); and when they became adults, they found themselves overburdened by the effects of the Legacy, and over-represented in all negative social and health determinants of Canadian life.

Colonialism and the influence of Christianity continue to have an affect on the extent of community acceptance toward culture and traditions, and the roles of the Elders have diminished in the process. Furthermore the youth of Sagamok are experiencing learned helplessness, and do not possess much influence in the community. The community members of Sagamok, in sharing their personal stories display a lack of confidence that they are able to effectively listen and communicate with each other. The inability of older and younger generations to openly communicate with one another reflects decades of intergenerational breakdown, which contributes to their generation gap, and on-going stereotypes and assumptions that they have about each other, which are reinforced by acts of over-accommodation on the part of both generations. There is also reluctance by many community members to engage in quality time with Elders outside of familial, cultural and traditional contexts.

What has this all led to? Extensive and continuous social change and the associated historical and contemporary consequences experienced by the community of Sagamok have inevitably led to the double estrangement of their Elders.

Chapter 3: The Double Estrangement of Anishnawbek Elders

Aboriginal Elders are experiencing double estrangement. By the term "double estrangement" I mean that older Native people are experiencing double jeopardy: their traditional roles are diminished or are not acknowledged at all by their own people, they are outside of their changing Aboriginal communities and ignored by the rest of Canadian society, where they remain outside of the mainstream Canadian institutional structure (Frideres 1994:30-33).

In this chapter, I discuss the estrangement of Elders from mainstream society and from their own communities. When I discuss the estrangement of Elders from mainstream Canadian society, I argue that the overall effects of colonialism and Aboriginal Elders own reluctance to engage and be accepted as valid participants in mainstream Canadian society has left them ignored citizens with no place of designation. This has occurred because of colonial policies, and the lack of awareness by Canadians in general about the current social circumstances of Aboriginal Elders. Additionally, the Elders adherence to their compliance ideology as a major factor of double estrangement will be discussed. When I discuss the estrangement of Elders from within their communities. I use Sagamok as an example to describe three major factors (i.e. formal education, tribal nepotism, and language barriers) that contribute to estrangement specific to Anishnawbek Elders in Sagamok. Finally, I also introduce some other causes of Elder estrangement in Sagamok such as the acceptance of colonial definitions of

Elders, and the unaccountability of Elders to accept responsibility for their own actions and behaviors toward other community members.

The average Canadian in all probability is not fully aware of the genocidal effects of Canadian policies (Bastien 1999:30) on Aboriginal people, or how this has resulted in the estrangement of Elders,[20] especially from Canadian society. There may be at least two reasons for why this has occurred: First, the majority of Canadians have generally supported these policies, because of the manner in which the Euro-western culture has defined the concept of "culture," as an abstract system of meanings through which reality is apprehended and social order is established (Urban 1991:1). It is through this idea that the colonizer can convince its citizens that Aboriginal people can be assimilated without any serious adverse consequences, perhaps with the exception of their own reluctance or refusal to join the colonizer's society (Bastien 1999:31). Furthermore, any real attempts by mainstream Canadians to understand the historical situation of Aboriginal people is contradicted by official colonial accounts, which have systematically ignored the Indigenous experience (Berger 1991:14). Second, since most Canadians do not have consistent or strong social relationships with Aboriginal peoples, their understandings about how Indian Elders are treated and live in contemporary society arise from stereotypical public images or accounts.

---

[20] In this section, when I discuss the estrangement of Aboriginal Elders from mainstream Canadian society, I will refer to all Aboriginal Elders, and not just those Elders from Sagamok Anishnawbek. I believe that the factors that underlie Elders estrangement from Canadian society are not isolated to the unique circumstances of the Anishnawbek Elders. Factors that have led to this type of estrangement are shared by most, if not all Aboriginal Elders.

The dominant images of Indian Elders seemingly enjoying a positive larger-than-life status is shaped in part by movies like *Little Big Man, Thunderheart,* and *Dances with Wolves*, all of which portray Elders according to sentimental clichés: wise, tolerant, spiritual, brave, taciturn, generous and humorous (Baldridge 2001:1515). Television commercials too, have contributed to Canada's public image of Elders, along with postcards or other Canadian memorabilia that boost the stereotypical image of the Indian Elder. Thus, for the most part, Canadians know very little about Indian Elders and tend to view them anthropologically (Baldridge 2001:1515). Indian Elders are generally perceived as nice and non-threatening. They are not activists, and they are not complainers. They are not going to rock Canada's boat (Baldridge 2001:1515), although they have been historically, and continue to remain estranged from mainstream Canadian society.

The historical displacement and current estrangement of Aboriginal Elders from Canadian society is not acknowledged, and therefore, is not understood. The estrangement of Aboriginal Elders from Canadian society has occurred from the very start of the European-Indian colonial relationship in Canada. In order to achieve assimilation, most genocidal policies were meant to directly affect the younger Aboriginal generations (e.g., residential school, child welfare and enfranchisement policies), which did not encourage Elders to remain a part of Aboriginal life of their younger cohorts, or to become a part of Canadian society. This process has carried on for those generations today who are now Elders.

Historically, the focus was on younger Aboriginal generations, who were then forced to resocialize in order to comply with the majority Canadian culture by developing new patterns of behavior and beliefs, and to co-ordinate their behavior with others in Canadian society.

> Older Native people were not required to participate actively (and some might argue coercively kept out) in the market economy or social fabric of Canadian society. They were allowed to remain on the reserves/colonies and supported by the new social welfare programs that emerged after the Second World War. In a more cynical vein, one might conclude that the predominant racist belief of the pre-war years actively prevented Native people from participating in mainstream society and integrating into the social and economic structure.
> (Frideres 1994:32)

The exposure of Aboriginal people to Canada's formal market economy and education system did not include measures to accommodate the Elders. The fate of the roles of Elders then, was left in the hands of Aboriginal groups, who too, were under the vise of colonialism. The Elders and other older Native people did not constitute a group that was viewed as being valuable to Canada, and because of this, little was done to help them learn new and more applicable skills to be more equitable participants in Canadian society. Furthermore, because of their experiences in residential schools, followed by the effects of the Legacy, most Aboriginal Elders today probably did not wish to be active members of Canadian society. They remained in some cases (whether out of fear, mistrust, anger, hopelessness, and so on) outside of the mainstream Canadian society as an act of their own will.

The federal and provincial governments in relation to Aboriginal Elders both on and off of the reserves have no consistency in the types of services provided (Hohn 1986:19) or in limits of support for Elders. Aboriginal Elders who do interact with various Canadian structures and institutions within different contexts feel that they are susceptible to being misunderstood (RCAP 1996:109), and discriminated against for being Aboriginal and for being old. Social and institutionally supported discrimination has exposed most Elders to consistent direct and indirect experiences of discrimination: distrust, disrespect, suspicion and even verbal insult (Ellerby 2001:29). This directly affects the quality of services and potential for Elders to no longer feel estranged from Canadian institutions and structures.

Many of the problems faced by Aboriginal Elders (especially rural-based Elders) are common among non-Aboriginal seniors, such as transportation problems, lack of awareness of services, and different cultural expectations of service providers (Hohn 1986; Magilvy 1996; RCAP 1996; Baldridge 2001). "Elders who do live on reserve have been found to be more likely to use all types of community-based services than are urban or rural, nonreservation-based Elders" (National Institutes of Health 1996, as quoted in Jervis et al. 2002:297). Some researchers have also noted that the use of alcohol, drug and mental health services (both on-reserve and off-reserve) is inhibited by Elders beliefs that they would not help, concern about stigma, and minimization of their need for help (Jervis et al. 2002:307). Furthermore, many older Natives are not aware of the range of programs and services available to them (Hohn 1986:27), and there is a common feeling among many Elders that some Canadian institutions (e.g., hospitals, clinics, schools) are not spiritual healthy places (Ellerby 2001:32).

Elder's beliefs about and different cultural expectations of service providers, including the place of service stems from their experiences in the Indian residential schools. Why might some Elders feel that some Canadian institutions are not spiritual healthy places? "That's simple, it is because those kinds of places rob Elders of their choice to die with their people. They view those types of places as where you go to die. This stems from their experiences in residential schools, they have learned not to trust systems of institutions, and they feel a fear of believing that when you go into those kinds of places, just like residential schools, you never come back" (Dahlseide, Health Promotions Director Interviewed 2004).

When Aboriginal people do look to the reserve for employment, they often see hopelessness, yet when they look to the dominant society, they see a wall of racism (Jacko 2001:11). This might also be true for older Natives whose problems of unemployment are often magnified (Jervis et al. 2002:299) by the lack of skills and knowledge transferred to them in residential schools.

Today's Elders and their advocates have become more organized and vocal, and have formed various networks within mainstream institutions such as religious organizations or voluntary associations. Despite this, Elders seem to have low levels of perceived need and service usage (Hohn 1986:33) of these organizations. If Elders were willing to step out of their estranged roles, either alone or with an organization's assistance, one of the biggest obstacles would be to locate the required identification to participate in mainstream economy, or even to complete applications (Hohn 1986:37-38).

I have presented various factors relating to the estrangement of Aboriginal Elders from Canadian society. Frideres (1994) points what he believes is a leading cause of Aboriginal Elder estrangement from both Canadian and Aboriginal societies. Frideres insists that the Elders' compliance with a traditional system has prevented them from taking on an allegiance to the new, industrial system, and few efforts have been made to incorporate this generation into the new compliance ideology of the industrialized system (33).

In the following section, I shift the focus back to the Anishnawbek people of Sagamok in order to reveal how the compliance to the Anishnawbek Way of Life has caused the double estrangement of Elders. This is due in part to the context in which senior Native people were raised, which was substantially different from the surrounding mainstream culture (Frideres 1994:30) now found in Sagamok. In addition, many of the older individuals were born and raised before the advent of major changes in Sagamok's social structure.

However, at the same time, I do not want to suggest that the Anishnawbek struggles for their way of life are always negative experiences, with negative consequences. I think it deserves mention that I find it extremely fascinating that Anishnawbek Elders are again able to comply with a way of life that was so deeply interfered with by colonial policies and Christianity. What is truly amazing is that this generation of Elders were able to maintain a sense of compliance to the Anishnawbek Way of Life as *children* who were alone and away from their communities without the guidance and reaffirmation that normally would have been provided to them if they were in their home communities to adhere to their way of life. Today's Elders were still able, even as children abused, and then as adults living the effects of the Legacy, and now as Elders estranged, able to say, "I am Anishnabe."

3.1 The Anishnawbek Way of Life and Elder Estrangement

Anthropologists have noted that each society has a collective orientation that all members of a society use to make choices, resolve dilemmas and accept resolutions as valid and binding (Frideres 1994:29). The Anishnawbek Way of Life forms the basis of the collective orientation that is shared by most Anishnawbek people. The Anishnawbek Way of Life includes a system of shared moral and ethical standards that govern the behavior of members in relation to the universe. Individuals are socialized to accept a shared view of the world that is governed by a compliance ideology:

> ...Shared cognitive orientations are part of the psychological basis for feelings of belonging; they are also guideposts that describe an individual's place in society, justify allegiance, and spell out the goals and means of group activity. Additionally, they are part of specific rules that compel particular forms of loyalty and participation.
> (Wilson 1992, as quoted in Frideres 1994:29)

The 'compliance ideology' identified by Wilson is a set of ideas that describes both the world that is and the world that ought to be, with moral and ethical judgments about fairness interwoven into this belief (Frideres 1994:29). The compliance ideology, or what I have refer to as the Anishnawbek Way of Life, is also know by other terms such as the Ethical Code of Life, or the Indigenous World View:

> The worldview of a given Aboriginal people sets limits on what is allowed and not allowed. The worldview frames the relationship between human beings and the Creator, between human beings and the physical world, plant world and the animal world. Some nations codify their rules of conduct, as in the Iroquois Great Law of Peace. Others imbue children with the moral code through legends, stories and examples. Language further describes the values and ethical positions expected. (RCAP 1996:129)

The Anishnawbek people have a set of assumptions about social reality, dynamics and value systems, which are immersed in spiritual relationships with the natural world, a tradition of ideas that when brought together form a common adherence to the Creator's natural law (Alfred 1999; Hill 2000). Community life is worked out in diverse and distinctive ways depending on where Aboriginal people live on earth. This commonality forms the collective core of interrelated assertions about Indigenous reality (Hill 2000:1), and is what makes an Aboriginal person feel that they have a sense of belonging. To be an Indian does not just mean to be of Indigenous origin, or to have an Indigenous language, it also means to be endowed with certain livelihood practices and cultural characteristics (Nygren 1998:54) that justify an individuals feelings of belonging.

The compliance ideology as a cultural concept is an attitude towards and a way of evaluating and understanding experience and is a concept implicated in the "representations and understandings of history and identity through time" (Fabian

1983, as quoted in Kratz 1993:185). The Anishnawbek Way of Life must be explored as an Anishnawbek cultural concept, which shapes and is shaped by different perspectives and processes (Kratz 1993:30). Herein lies the dilemma: Thus far, the Anishnawbek Elders, unlike younger cohorts, have not shifted their compliance ideologies toward understanding and incorporating the realities of the modern Anishnawbek experience.

For Anishnawbek Elders, this has forced them into a position of double estrangement. They were socialized in a very traditional lifestyle (at least early in their lives) and achieved a compliance with a culture that would be under siege for the rest of their lives as Canada entered the industrialized economy and fully endorsed the tenets of capitalism (Frideres 1994:30). As previously noted, this group of Elders has been excluded from participating actively in institutional arrangements that might have allowed them to gain the necessary skills, education and training to participate in Canadian society. More importantly, because of their exclusion, this group was denied the means that could have produced what Wilson refers to as 'transvaluation' (Frideres 1994:32). This is a term used to identify the process of social change; when beliefs about what is and ought to be change because the structure of society changes. As Sagamok established different social structures, new norms and values developed, and community members who participated or were raised in the new social arrangements accepted these new norms and values as legitimate.

Younger Anishnawbek have had a better opportunity to develop strategies to assist them in accepting a changing compliance ideology, but remain at extreme odds over how to comply with the Anishnawbek Way of Life to which they feel a sense of belonging, but which is completely different from the compliance ideology of the mainstream. I believe that this is a major factor underlying the cultural displacement Aboriginal people feel when they do cross boundaries to participate in Canadian society. For their Elders, regardless of the ideology, the result is the same; their compliance to a traditional system, and lack of means and inclusion to undergo a transvaluation of their beliefs has prevented them from accepting and participating in Western systems. As a result, Elders are estranged from mainstream Canadian society. They do not view the outside compliance ideology as legitimate, nor do they trust it.

Similarly, the failure to assist or recognize the difficulty of such a transition of the Elders through the transvaluation process while the nature of Sagamok was changing due to immense social structure changes, and a recent collective ethnic renewal process that has caused younger community members to have very different norms and values that they accept as more legitimate than their older counterparts, has ultimately resulted in the estrangement of Elders from the community. Elders are trying to hold onto a way of life that encompasses their values and norms that can no longer exist uninterrupted by non-Aboriginal influences. The differences in the compliance ideologies between the young and old have contributed to intergenerational breakdown, which also further contributes to Elder estrangement in the community.

The younger people in a state of confusion (between adherence to the compliance ideology of the mainstream and their devotion to the Anishnawbek Way of Life) do not include their Elders in their everyday experiences, which again acts to block the transvaluation process of Elder compliance ideologies. Perhaps some younger community members feel that Elders are not willing to change their opinions about the Anishnawbek Way of Life, or about culture, so they do not bother with the Elders. The question has to be asked, if Elders remain estranged from their younger community members, how will the young and old ever share a compliance ideology that is mutual and beneficial for both generations, in order to possibly break the cycle of intergenerational conflict?

In summary, the compliance ideology of the Elders to the Anishnawbek Way of Life, and lack of acquired skills and knowledge to undergo the transvaluation process has left them estranged from both their communities and mainstream Canadian society. Their compliance to a traditional system of beliefs has prevented them from accepting the modern social, cultural, economic and political institutional structures of both Canadian society and Sagamok as legitimate institutions that can better the way of life for Anishnawbek people. Furthermore, the differing compliance ideologies of the Elders from their younger cohorts contribute to intergenerational communication breakdown, which promotes the estrangement of Elders.

3.2 Major Factors Contributing to the Estrangement of Anishnawbek Elders

The effects of colonialism, Christianity and the inability of the older Native people to participate in the transvaluation of their compliance ideologies (all leading factors for the double estrangement of Aboriginal Elders), all influence at least three other major factors that have led to the estrangement of Elders in Sagamok: namely, the formal education of younger Anishnawbek, tribal (political) nepotism, and language barriers.

3.2.1 The Formal Education of Younger Anishnawbek

Before extensive social and political change, high status was afforded to the Elders because it was assumed that throughout their lives they had made several accomplishments that strengthened and reaffirmed the stability of their community (Salisburg and Tooker 1984; Kroeber 1994; Williamson 1999). Elders, both men and women have many common responsibilities as keepers of wisdom (RCAP 1996:111), which includes safeguarding and disseminating knowledge gained over centuries (RCAP 1996:3). Elders as the gatekeepers of knowledge are able to maintain some significance as long as they are able to occupy this role, and are recognized by others in the capacity of a 'wisdom keeper'.

Elders have used cautionary tales to maintain their significance. Ahenakew and Wolfart (1992) report one such tale that was told to them by an Elder, in which a young man had died as a result of a swollen tongue because he had talked back to the Elders, and refused to follow the wishes of the Elders. A common ethic of most Indigenous World Views is that Elders are to be respected, and that showing respect for the people (Elders) who make decisions about the world is a basic law of life (RCAP 1996; Williamson 1999). Today, Elders feel that their once unquestioned authority is being challenged by a new set of consumer based youth-oriented values (Baldridge 2001:1519).

The youth of Sagamok have been prepared to have greater economic and career expectations that are often not being met, so many of them feel hopeless and frustrated (Hoyle 1994:11). Younger Aboriginal people feel that education has two purposes: to build and enhance their understanding of themselves as Aboriginal peoples, and to prepare them for life in the modern world (RCAP 1996:161). Younger Anishnawbek want to be formally educated, but also want to acquire traditional knowledge and skills. The younger community members of Sagamok realize that they need to be empowered individually, politically and economically (RCAP 1996:180). Younger Anishnawbek want to strengthen their community, and understand that education and training are especially important in gaining independence and wider economic opportunities for their community.

> Elders have to have an understanding about people who are not traditional…we want to know our culture, especially for the future. (Angel, Community Member)

On the other hand, Aboriginal Elders firmly believe that in order to achieve Independence and find solutions to community problems, the solution is to return to cultural teachings (RCAP 1996:136). Younger people agree, but they also believe that this cannot be done at the exclusion of formal education and training or participation in non-Aboriginal society. Younger people also believe that the time has come for Aboriginal communities to control their formal education and institutions (RCAP 1996:163). Younger people want to be educated today, without having to lose their identities or culture in the process.

Education can be seen as an agent of cultural survival or cultural disintegration (RCAP 1996:158), depending on an individuals experience with the formal education system of Canada. The formal education of younger Aboriginal people poses a number of problems for Elders and their community members, all of which promote the estrangement of Elders: First, there is a disagreement on whether formal education or Indigenous knowledge is a more practical means to benefit Aboriginal communities. Some Elders' who believe that formal education threatens to abrogate the people's understanding and importance of Indigenous knowledge accentuates this debate. Second, those who do leave to attend schooling off reserve often feel alienated from their Elders and other community members when they return home. These feelings of alienation are shared by their Elders (including other community members) who feel as though their traditional knowledge and authority is being challenged. Elders also feel that they are regarded as people who cannot provide guidance because they are not formally educated.

Younger Anishnawbek are no longer exclusively isolated geographically or culturally and this enables them to question the Anishnawbek Way of Life. The young also have more opportunities to seek training and higher levels of education. Elders generally respect and acknowledge the formal Euro-Canadian system of education and certification, but they do not view it as superior to Aboriginal approaches (Ellerby 2001:26).

> … (Formal) Education is not respected or regarded by Elders the way it should be. My father had a high respect for education, but education is not something that really matters to my mother. She does not acknowledge my education at all.
> (Chalize, Community Member)

In most real life situations, in a postcolonial state, expert knowledge is not earned but assigned (Nair 2002:185). The mind-set here is wrapped around empirical evidence and "burden of proof" (McLuhan and Fiore 1967:44-45). In contrast the Anishnawbek intellectual tradition does not exist separated from life itself (sacred from the secular). Knowledge and experience are intimately connected (Toulouse 2001:4), and it is a system of knowledge that takes its meaning from the Anishnawbek Way of Life (compliance ideology) about the world and how it operates.

The thinker in North American Indian intellectual tradition has, in the words of James Dumont (1976:31-32), "an all-around vision" in contrast to the "straight ahead vision: of modern thought". For the all around thinker, the natural and supernatural intertwine. Past, present and future mesh in the life of an individual, and the reality of the sacred becomes part of everyday experience. The transmission of traditional knowledge is an interpersonal and, often intergenerational process. There is usually a distinction between two kinds of teachings:

> Objective Knowledge comes directly from the Creator. It is the source of the sacred laws that govern relationships within the community and the world at large. It is the source of the traditions and sacred ceremonies. It tells one how to lead a good life. Subjective Knowledge is acquired by doing. It is how children learn to hunt, make tools or gather medicines. They want and, at some point, make their own attempt. This kind of knowledge is subjective because it can change: and the individual may find a better way of doing things.
> (RCAP 1996:115)

Thus, the Native learning style incorporates three methods of learning: watch-then-do, think-then-do, and listen-then-do (Foreman 1991).

> My dad lived the traditional way in the wintertime by hunting, but worked in the summer in forestry. My dad taught me and took me trapping and hunting and how to do all these things. I never really questioned my teachings, or really thought about asking Elders about what they were teaching me. I never thought I had an obligation to listen to Elders, then, you just listened and watched. That is the way we learned, we knew to listen and watch. When I would go to visit I would just listen to some stories. I think I asked a question before about where we came from, and how life started. I don't know, all my grandpa said when I did ask anything was "Never mind we got kicked out from the States." Now today, young people do not want to live off the land, because there's no income, nothing coming out of there for them.
> (Chas, Elder)

Traditionally, education was not schooling, and the role of the Elders was not limited to direct instruction and curriculum development. A child's entire surroundings were used to teach the child about their relations and place in the universe. Western certification, which may occur only after eight years or less of training, is sometimes questioned by Elders (Ellerby 2001:27), and Elders often suspect knowledge if it is founded on events outside ones personal experience (RCAP 1996:115). The justification for validity of Indigenous knowledge is founded on the Anishnawbek Way of Life; as such, knowledge is spiritually based and spiritually derived. To remove the spiritual foundation of Indigenous knowledge would be to destroy its very soul; and that fact has never been lost to colonial regimes (Hill 2000:2).

Formal learning has historically been positioned above the informal in dominant/modern Canada. As a result of this inequity we see externally imposed concepts of what constitutes the dominant over culturally recognized forms of knowing (Toulouse 2001:3). The struggle with formal and informal learning is deeply rooted in Elder's historical orientations and positions within the education system (Toulouse 2001:5). For most Aboriginal people, the deculturalization experienced by their participation in schooling has been too great a price to pay for modernization.

The schooling experience of some of the Elders has led them to believe that when younger community members leave the community, they will no longer accept Indigenous forms of knowledge. They will begin to learn how to value the formal over the informal.

> Young people don't really want to listen, and I notice when they leave and get an Education they come back with the attitude of a "know it all, they know how, they are the ones who are going to come in." So sometimes it's difficult, I find that this makes them have a negative attitude towards Elders. I find that I too also felt this way when I went away to school. I think that this is a negative aspect of education. There should be programming in colleges and universities to show younger people not to demean Elders because they (younger people) do not know the life experiences. Younger people need more life skills.
> (Dashaye, Elder)

It would have to be tested in practice to determine whether or not formal training in the Canadian education system contributes to Elders feelings that those who are more educated treat them in a demeaning manner. Whatever the outcome, it is apparent that some Elders feel estranged from those who have left the community temporarily to seek a higher education, and how the Elders feel is symbolically meaningful and consequential. Additionally, Elders who are already feeling estranged from more educated younger community members probably also feel an increased threat that Anishnawbek culture and identity will be lost among those who are more educated.

> They no longer will think or feel Indian. And although they may wear Indian jewellery and take part in pow-wows, they can never recapture that…reverence for the sun and the moon…no longer the wolf and the bear brothers but beasts, resources to be killed and sold. They will have lost their identity, which no amount of reading can restore.
> (Johnston 1991:10)

For younger Anishnawbek, this pressure to choose between the traditional way of life and the modern world (informal knowledge over traditional knowledge), the implication being that there is no way to accommodate the two worlds, is an argument that many younger people are beginning to reject (RCAP 1996:184). This is one example of a difference in compliance ideologies of the young and old. To make my argument more apparent: there are cautionary tales about losing culture that are commonly shared by Elders, because of the engagement with formal learning. For example, Garrett (1994:3) spoke with a Medicine Elder (who wished to remain anonymous) who expressed concern about Indian children learning, "We are just a generation from losing our (Indian) living cultural heritage. We could join the extinct ones."

As an Aboriginal youth myself, I reject the argument that we are losing Aboriginal culture. I would be the first to say that Aboriginal people in comparison to their cultural, social and economic positions (though extremely disadvantaged) in the past have made huge advancements. To hold ceremonies, or to teach Aboriginal language was outlawed, yet today, we see ceremonies and pow-wows practiced openly throughout North America. Aboriginal languages have become a great concern with several language conferences and forums being held at different levels of Aboriginal society to address the decline of Aboriginal language.

> They got quite a few things going on, pow-wow's, spiritual grounds, and community centers. They did not have these things when I was younger.
> (Chas, Elder)

For Anishnawbek people to be empowered, the cautionary tales that culture is disappearing must be altogether squashed and rejected. An Elder who I interviewed felt that if younger people do not listen to Elders, the way of life would disappear.

> Life would be easier if people were able to listen to the Elder that has already walked the trail. Elders are the link to the past. The missing link if you like, the teachings are verbally taught, they must be listened too…or the way of life will disappear.
> (Omar, Elder)

Perhaps Elders pass these cautionary tales because their culture (at least some forms of culture and traditions) under direct influences of colonial policies and Christianity was so greatly interfered with that the fear remains with them that culture can be lost or stolen. Nonetheless, the tendency for the younger generation of Aboriginal people to recapture their suppressed Indian heritage and to reaffirm their identity will sometimes stand in contrast to the skepticism of their Elders (Nagel 1995:960).

Anishnawbek youth do not want to be seen as traitors to their home communities. Many have a deep commitment to helping strengthen and enrich their communities. However, when they return home from receiving training in higher education, they find themselves in a number of distressing positions: Their Elders and community members feel estranged from them, as do they; their desire to learn more about their culture and even to promote their culture and traditions in their academic research or work, is made difficult by Elders, who as the gatekeepers of traditional knowledge either do not share at all, or do not wish for certain cultural teachings to be shared outside of the Anishnawbek community. This may contribute to more formally educated individuals feeling alienated, and sometimes resentful. Elders who are unable to accept the changing compliance ideologies of these individuals tend to become more estranged from them, and are unable to agree with them that research, social and political developments for the benefit of the reserve can be made by the incorporation of formal education practices.

Aboriginal people who are formally educated, especially those who receive post-secondary training, have a stigma attached to their accomplishments in academia. That is, they must not know their culture, or they accept formal learning over traditional methods of learning, or that they are assimilated individuals. Ironically, the current generation of Elders should be more considerate toward those who leave to attend schooling. These same Elders more often than not found it difficult to 'reintegrate' with their families and communities when they returned home from residential schools (Mussell 1994:33). Yet, they still maintained compliance to the Anishnawbek Way of Life, because they knew the political, economic, and social power of that education, and as a result did not view the formal education system superior to traditional knowledge.

Nonetheless, those who are more educated in Sagamok struggle to find a place in the community. Often just to fit in, they cannot use their newly acquired skills and knowledge.

> Probably one of the problems in communicating with my peers is that most of them have not gone onto gain a postsecondary education. So some of them cannot identify with me, because they are not that experienced professionally or academically. So with my own peers, it's basically just chitchat. I have lost having things in common with my peers because I have a higher education, and I am more informed on issues. They also cannot understand some of the jargon that I use.
> (Angel, Community Member)

These younger more educated members of the community may be experiencing what Hogan (2000:17) refers to as *alienating denial of identity*:

> ...The character in question internalizes the alien culture after extensive education, typically including a period in the metropolis. His/her racial or ethnic origin prevents true acceptance in the foreign culture, and the internalization of foreign culture makes him/her in (Achebe's phrase) "no longer at ease in the home culture as well".

Aboriginal academics are expected to embrace the discourses of academia, while embracing the oral traditions as legitimate sources of knowledge. This is not like switching from one language to another, but from one worldview to another. It is no wonder then, that some more formally educated Anishnawbek members feel an 'alienating denial of identity'.

> Having a higher education has affected my relationships with other people in the community. There are a lot of people who are not aware of my educational background, because I remain humble about my educational status. I do not advertise it to the community, but when I am around my professors, who I also acknowledge as my Elders or other outside people, I get respect. I have a very good relationships with these people on a personal and professional level, but yet I cannot be myself with my own family. I can talk about certain political and social issues, but I cannot use the professional jargon that I have learned…I refer to the traditional use of traditions at home and at work, which means I keep my mind on the Native Worldview. The "Native Psyche," I use this view to work with all clients.
> (Chalize, Community Member)

This community member's utilization of "The Native Psyche," would not be accepted in mainstream Canadian society. At the same time, this formally educated individual is not recognized for her ability to utilize traditional methods of practice in the work that she does with the community.

Some individuals who have attained a higher education also wish to better the situation of their community by engaging in research from an Anishnawbek perspective. Others simply want to have an understanding of their way of life and increase their skills by becoming educated in the skills of Anishnawbek ways of knowing to guide and assist them in today's world (RCAP 1996:164). In this sense, they feel that they become even more empowered as individuals by being afforded the opportunity to learn the knowledge of both Euro-Canadian and Anishnawbek societies. These individuals are able to view "modernization as the adoption of practices by which broad principles of traditional thought, count as advances on traditional ideas or practices" (Hogan 2000:4).

However, the Elders who already feel estranged from more highly educated Anishnawbek may contribute to Elder's feelings that formally educated youth may now "be speaking with a colonized voice from a colonized perspective" (Zolner 2003:109). Thus, Elders may not be willing to share or pass Indigenous knowledge to them. Elders are cautious, if they share, even to one of their own, they may be misinterpreted, or revealed in ways, which get misappropriated (Smith 1999:36). Just "in case the culture of the copy muddles the waters of authenticity" (Schwartz 1996:377). There was one Elder who refused to be interviewed by me, stating that they could not trust me, because I had been gone too long from the reserve. This Elder also said that one time when they did give an interview to another person who was going to school, when they read the person's work, they did not like what the person had written.

Of equal importance is the Elders conviction that in the wrong hands Indigenous knowledge loses its power or assumes destructive forms (Brant 1980; Akerman 1995; Brown 1998). The Elders do have a stake in claiming authenticity (vis-à-vis both Canadian society and the youth of Sagamok). The misunderstandings between Elders and younger Anishnawbek over formal education and Indigenous knowledge, which is more legitimate, or which may provide a better means of finding solutions to problems of the community is barricaded by their inability to effectively communicate with each other stemming from the historical forces of colonialism and Christianity.

There are a number of reasons why younger people leave to seek a higher education, just as there a number of reasons for why Elders keep traditional knowledge closed, and sometimes even hidden. The two generations must learn how to effectively communicate with each other, because in this case, both are at risk for becoming more estranged from one another. Particularly younger people, who may feel resentment toward Elders for not sharing or limiting Anishnawbek ways of knowing; and for not recognizing the unique circumstances that have contributed to their decision to attain a higher education. Younger people are not necessarily being seduced by the materialistic culture of the dominant society. They have just found themselves in the position where they have to seek other sources of knowledge in order to comply with the world in which they live.

3.2.2 Tribal Nepotism

Sagamok is a community with extreme internal complex divisions and diversities that exist among community members and there is an employed elected administration that oversees the day-to-day governing on reserve. A community member of Sagamok stated, "Only a personalized sense of ethics can help Native people navigate the daily minefield of First Nations organizational politics" (Warry 1998:235). The administrative body in Sagamok has a huge influence on whether some Elders are included and others are left ignored. The unofficial context of being recognized as an Elder, "like the pre-colonial pattern of social identity is complex and situational, both with ascribed identities and self-identifications influenced by social patterns, social roles, intratribal politics, appearance and the like" (Strong and VanWinkle 1996:558).

> Elders who are in the clique, or respected by the clique will be the ones acknowledged by younger people. Because if they see that is who leadership has been respecting, then that is who they will respect.
> (Chalize, Community Member)

This community member is referring to the way in which the nepotism of the band administration has an influence over which Elders are acknowledged and given recognizance as an Elder. Thus, the personal and cultural respect an individual receives is also a political issue. In Sagamok, this will have an affect on which Elders are invited to sit on committees or attend community events.

> There are a few Elders, always the same ones who are invited to meetings or events. At least one of those Elders comes out when a notice is sent out for them to attend a meeting … I have never received a personal invitation to an event as an older community member.
> (Dashaye, Elder)

Traditionally, individuals who had positions of leadership were viewed as servants of the people, and in tribal organizations, all people are expected to act as leaders when their specialized knowledge or abilities were needed at a particular time (McLeod 2002:14).

> Everyone has a place in the circle of life…everyone was given a gift to help with the community.
> (Omar, Elder)

The traditional concepts of leadership are difficult to incorporate into the new colonial municipal style institutions (Jacko 2001:7) now operating in Sagamok. Unfortunately, institutionalized styles of governing almost always lead to abuses of power (Brown 1998:198), and the exclusion of many from the decision-making processes. At one time tribal leadership was the embodiment of a lifestyle, and expression of learned patterns and thought and behaviors, values, and beliefs. "Culture is the basis: it formulates the purpose, process, and ultimately the product" (McLeod 2002:14). When I speak about culture in this context, I mean "the framework of beliefs, expressive symbols, and values in terms of which individuals define their world, express their feelings, and make their judgments" (Geertz 1957:33).

I do not doubt that there were hierarchical structures of governing in Aboriginal societies that may have contributed to abuses of power. However, before European contact, Aboriginal peoples existed in societies with clearly articulated norms governing community life (Thatcher 2001:39). Individuals had a straightforward sense of how and where they belonged socially and the rights and obligations that belonging entailed (RCAP 1996; Thatcher 2001). The difference between new postcolonial institutional structures of governing in Sagamok and traditional methods of governing when it comes to abuses of power is that the clearly articulated norms governing community life having been interfered with by colonial policies and Christianity either no longer exist, don't fit with the current system of governing, or have become too vague.

I state again that in Sagamok, culture has been subject to change; it is being renewed, reinvented, and sometimes borrowed. Thus, the leadership in Sagamok is coping with a foreign method of governing, at the same time that they are trying to define what culture means to them. For those who have an understanding of their culture, they too may be at odds over how to incorporate their own cultural understandings into the modern governing system in Sagamok in order to make it more culturally sensitive, applicable and meaningful for their people.

The Anishnawbek leadership is also at increased risk of abusing their power because they still have to contend with unique circumstances of the community just because it is Aboriginal. For example, Barbra Wakshul (1997:24-28) says that Indian leadership is different in the following ways:

> (a) Indian leaders need to know both their own community (values and history) as well as the European community because they must function in both societies; (b) Indian leaders need to be holistic because Indian communities are small, Indians value interconnectedness, and Indians work on a wide variety of issues; (c) Indian leaders belong to communal societies that must accommodate both tribal values and Euro-Canadian systems in which Indians and non-Indians coexist.

The Anishnawbek are a living culture and the governance of the people is based in their way of life, their land, and experiences within the community (Toulouse 2001:19). Therefore, the current Euro-Canadian methods of governance in Sagamok is not easily instituted or accepted by the community. The traditional tribal decision-making procedures consisting of deliberation, community consultation, and informal consensus building (Baldridge 2001:1520), where historically older people were in the forefront of decision-making and community life (Hohn 1986:10) have been discarded in favor of democratic efficiency driven models. Decisions once driven by the advice of Elders are now made by appointed or elected tribal officials (Baldridge 2001:1520).

Outside of the decision-making procedures and equipped with traditional skills (e.g., hunting, trapping and tanning) that are no long fully endorsed by their community, the Elders of Sagamok have experienced an evolution—one that is ongoing—into unclear and less meaningful roles (Baldridge 2001:1528). In many cases their role has been reduced to a symbolic function (Frideres 1994:31), where Elders are more likely to be called up to pray or be a presence at traditional or ceremonial events.

Several community members are aware of how the role of the Anishnawbek Elders has been diminished as decision makers in the governing process in Sagamok and have witnessed how the band has reduced the role of their Elders to one that is symbolic. Highlighting the problem that exists with the current system of governance in Sagamok and how it contributes to the estrangement of Elders (i.e. the combination of formally instituted leadership and relegation of the status of Elders), some community members stated:

> The band administration doe not take an active role to include the Elders that is something that is overlooked.
> (Dashaye, Elder)

> The band office does not even really try to interact with Elders, only if it is for ceremonial purposes, or prayers. I always hear the Chief saying our Elders, our Elders, but I never see them.
> (Sasheahna, Community Member)

> I have not been to the band office, just once to get cards when I lost my wallet. They never make an effort to include me in anything. I have no significant role in this community. I do not go anywhere.
> (Chas, Elder)

Furthermore, there is no real attempt to keep the Elders informed on issues affecting the reserve and the people. As a result, Elders find it difficult to arrive at a consensus on how to find solutions to community problems.

> Chief and Council have different committees. In each committee there are Elders participating, but not all Elders are experienced on community issues. For example, on the education committee there is one Elder that does not know that much on issues and is too quiet.
> (Briannajan, Elder)

> I live at Eagle's Lodge with others my own age, but I am still involved with committees. I am aware of the changes that occur, even about the amount of debt that the reserve has. I sit on various committees and I leave and travel a lot, more than my peers. So I sometimes feel that I am more informed about reserve issues than my peers. I think it would be difficult to get my peers to agree on serious issues, because we do not meet to talk of matters about the community; I only meet with my peers on a social basis.
> (Omar, Elder)

Contributing to tribal nepotism and the declining role of Elders as decision makers are the divisions between family groups that contribute to political conflict (Hoyle 1994:14), which in turn influence which Elders are included in the day-to-day activities of the band administration. One Sagamok community member stated, "It is also about who is representing the First Nations, the structure of the tribal council was developed to help one another, but it has become a problem of control…the disease (family divisions and jealousy) has infiltrated the tribal council" (Warry 1998:238). Families who are able to infiltrate into the band administration, are able to influence governing and decision-making processes. This will have an influence on which older community members are recognized as Elders. As one community member stated whose father was a recognized Elder/Teacher by families in "control":

> My own father, who was much respected, was included in everything. He was viewed as a teacher in many aspects, not just traditionally. Yet, my own mother, his own wife, was not included, invited, or even expected to show up at the same events.
> (Chalize, Community Member)

Many residents state that jealousy and competition has become a feature of life in Sagamok due to differences in income, education and standard of living between residents (Hoyle 1994:14).

> People in the community are threatened by my education. Older people because of the position they hold. There is a clique there, and I am not in that clique, and I have never been in that clique, even prior to working in the community.
> (Chalize, Community Member)

In Sagamok there also exists what members refer to as "the list", which is a list of registered Elders who are over the age 55 years. Some members have stated that this list is inclusive of only those Elders who are between the age of 55 years and 65 years. Once Elders turn 65, they are no longer referred to as Elders, but as seniors, and are removed from the list.

> Here, they say 55 is an Elder, then they get services, at 65 you are a senior. For example, when my grandma turned 65 she did not get to go on any more trips, because she was senior, yet it was an Elders trip.
> (Sasheahna, Community Member)

I attempted to find a policy or procedure, and requested "the list" from both the Membership Officer, and the Executive Director of Health and Social Services. The Membership officer stated that the list I was referring to is not formal, there is no band policy or procedure that makes the list a method by which to define Elders, and that there is no actual written list. There was a list that was created one year for a Christmas party in order to give gifts to older community members who were over 55 years.

The Executive Director confirmed what the Membership officer had stated, but added that there is a program (of which there is no age limit) to receive services. The person just has to be 55 years old to receive certain services (such as gardening, snow and garbage removal, and in some cases honorariums, gifts or travel), but individuals have to come forward to register themselves as being over 55 years to receive services. In short, the list is not formal, there are no rules governing who can be on the list, or how it maintained, if it exists at all. The Executive Director stated that there was no actual written list just that older people had to confirm their age to receive certain paid services.

Some community members believe that "the list" defines which Elders are recognized, given honorariums, and included in events. This suggests that some community members are defining the informal status of Elders through internal power dynamics. One community member suggested that instead of addressing Elders for any wrongs that the Elder may commit, they would just turn it over Health and Social Services, to get the Elder "unregistered".

> I have watched people that come into the community and say that they are Elders, but who not "registered," and you have to be a registered Elder here in Sagamok to receive honorariums. The have a registry at Health and Social services that pay out revenues…I do not know if I would correct Elders about some of their actions or teachings. Instead, I would

> pass it onto health and social services. Elders could probably get unregistered from the list.
> (Dashaye, Elder)

"The list," which is more a construct to informally define the eligibility of older community members to receive certain paid services, than an actual policy, seems to have an overwhelming influence on how community members believe Elders are defined, receive services and are included in some events. It is surprising that some community members believe their own influence can have some Elders *kicked off the list* for bad behavior, and thus, "unregister" the Elder from being recognized.

The current reality of Sagamok suggests that some Elders can remain estranged from the community if they are not look upon favorably by the band administration, which in turn influences how others accept and recognize Elders in the community. The extent of Elder estrangement is also affected by the extremity of family divisions, and tribal nepotism.

3.2.3 Language

Every person that I spoke with, despite their stance on the acceptance or rejection of culture, all believed that language was of central importance. It seems that language is regarded highly in Sagamok, and they wish to retain their language.

> Elders must know their language. This is most important. They must be able to teach culture in the language.
> (Dashaye, Elder)
>
> There is just not enough language around us, it's important.
> (Angel, Community Member)

Toulouse (2001:12) reported that both the education committee and the parent/school committee emphasized the crucial importance of language in the classroom. When asked by Toulouse how much of the day should be allotted in Native language, these committees believed that, as much as one-quarter to one-half of the school day should be taught in the Native language (12). Yet, the Elders in Sagamok are rarely invited to the classrooms due to time constraints and resources of the schools and of those interested Elders (Toulouse 2001:11).

All of the Elders that I interviewed were able to speak fluent Ojibway, and English. There was only one younger community member who was able to speak fluent Ojibway. This person was also the only individual who reported that they had positive and open relationships with the Elders. Of course, I am sure that there are other personal and cultural factors for this, however being able to speak the language of the Elders is a sign of this persons positive relationships with the Elders.

> Nothing stops me from interacting with the Elders. I speak the language. I get along much better with Elders and older people, than I do with people my own age. It has always been this way.
> (Chalize, Community Member)

I mentioned already, one of the deeper changes brought about by colonialism and Christianity has been the significant loss of language (Hoyle 1994:4) in Sagamok. Toulouse (2001:12) summarizes the current status of Aboriginal language in Sagamok:

> The reality is that the rate of transference of Indigenous languages is slower than the growing attrition rates of fluent speakers. The generation

> gap between fluent speakers is growing. An example of this is in the community of Sagamok Anishnawbek where you have the 50+ populations that are fluent in *Anishnaabemowin* (speaking the Native language). The next generation below that group (35 to 49) reflects a majority that can understand the language but cannot fully speak it. The next generation below that (20 – 34) knows the basic common courtesies and then their understanding ends there. The pattern is obvious; as each generation grows we see dissolution of the language.

It is crucial that Elders are included in community life if the Anishnawbek wish to retain, renew and celebrate their language. In Western terms, Elders are the linguistic professors of their culture (RCAP 1996:125). If language barriers are not addressed, the ability to share a common compliance ideology will be extremely difficult. This is true, because much of the teachings and sharing of traditional knowledge is done through oral transmission, and there are concepts in the language of the Anishnawbek that cannot be transferred to the English language. This results in the abrogation of teachings and understandings of the Anishnawbek Way of Life.

> We are not knowledgeable. We don't share the same knowledge. So language is limited. Language is a barrier. I know enough to say hello, but not to strike up an actual conversation with the Elders.
> (Angel, Community Member)

"Aboriginal language embodies cultural understandings of the relationship between things and of life" (Little Bear 1991, as quoted in Grosse, Henderson and Carter 1994:70), which captures the essence of the Aboriginal way of seeing the world (RCAP 1996:124). Next to habitat, language and dialect have been regarded a markers of tribal identity (Betielle 1998:189). Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986), a Kenyan writer of Gikuyu descent, describes language as a way people have not only of describing the world, but also of understanding themselves. For him, English in Africa is a "cultural bomb" that continues a process of erasing memories of pre-colonial cultures and history and as a way of installing the dominance of new, more insidious forms of colonialism. English is a colonial language. In a general statement, Ngugi points out that language and culture are inseparable, and that therefore the loss of the former results in the loss of the latter:

> [A] specific culture is not transmitted through language in its universality, but in its particularity as the language of a specific community with a specific history. Written literature and orature are the main means by which a particular language transmits the images of the world contained in the culture it carries.
>
> Language as communication and as culture are then products of each other...Language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we perceive ourselves and our place in the world...Language is thus inseparable from ourselves as a community of human beings with a specific form and character, a specific history, a specific relationship to the world. (15-16)

The inability of the younger generation to speak Ojibway limits their communication with the Elders, interferes with the transvaluation process of the Elders, and increases the extent of Elder estrangement, and threatens the idea of a unified systems of beliefs between the young and the old, because two generations are not able to reach the same understandings about what the world is, and how the world ought to be, and their relation to the universe.

3.3 Other Causes of Anishnawbek Elder Estrangement

Thus far this chapter has presented some of the major causes of Aboriginal Elder estrangement. In the process of linking major factors to Elder estrangement in the community of Sagamok, I also found other causes of Elder estrangement in Sagamok. Other factors related to Elder estrangement in Sagamok are concerned with how to define the Elder, and if today's concept of the Elder is imaginary. Anishnawbek understand "Elders" in terms of intimate and personal relationships, which they cannot define, because of the colonial interference that has transferred traditional concepts of Elders status and roles into abstractions that have created confusion for so many Anishnawbek people. Another cause of Elder estrangement has to do with not blaming youth (and other younger community members in general) for the lack of Elders participation and recognition in Sagamok. That is, Elders too, have to accept some of the responsibility for their estrangement, and come to terms with how some of their behaviors and actions that younger community members have witnessed have affected how younger community members respond, acknowledge and address their Elders.

3.3.1 Imaginary Elders

The term "Elder" is over-used and misused a great deal (Ellerby 2001:7). The term Elder does not exist in many Aboriginal languages, and the closest English translation that the Anishnawbek have in reference to the Elder is *Great People*[21]. Throughout this paper, both the historical and contemporary significance and recognition of Anishnawbek Elders has been discussed in various contexts. The changing nature of Sagamok and shifting compliance ideologies of the Anishnawbek under the influence of colonialism and Christianity has overwhelmed the Elder concept with abstractions not previously used by the Anishnawbek people to identify who their Elders are.

---

[21] Refer to Chapter 1.

I do not contest the claim by Aboriginal cultures that Elders have always existed in various roles in various contexts with noted significance and recognition (RCAP 1996; Baldridge 2001). However, I believe that the concept of the Elder has become unavoidably indeterminate and commodified, bound up in tribal politics, highly influenced by stereotypical images, and interfered with by colonial and Christian abstractions. Thus, the Anishnawbek are not conclusive in their ability to have a common definite, clear and concise understanding of what an Elder is, what an Elders does, and with certainty understand *who* their Elders are. The outcome has been one of discord in sustaining the traditional familial and community roles that Elders occupy (Baldridge 2001:1516). In short, the contemporary concepts of today's Elder along with its accompanying characteristics are colonial in nature, resulting in an imaginary signification (Mbembe 2001:2) of Anishnawbek Elders. By imaginary signification, Mbembe means something that is invented that paradoxically becomes necessary because that something plays a key role.

I have a few cautious assertions, because I would like to avoid the fate of James Clifton (1990), who was heavily criticized for suggesting the term "invented Indian." Again, I am not suggesting Elders are an invented concept, never existing in the Anishnawbek society. What I am attempting to say is that colonialism has made "a market for ethnic identities, in which they are traded as commodities" (Castile 1996:743). Colonialism has forced the Anishnawbek into position where in order to assimilate them, they were forced to think of their culture and beliefs as reified abstractions. The process of collective ethnic renewal involves a process whereby cultural actors in Sagamok are being redefined, reinvented, reinstated, or created (Nagel 1994:165). All of the above mentioned outside forces have allowed for some colonial interpretations of what constitutes the Elder to be adopted, which are now accepted by the Anishnawbek. This has been accentuated by the increase of outside pressures to define who the Elders are for a variety of reasons. For example, some Aboriginal communities are asked to identify who their Elders are in order to receive funding for senior or cultural programming. This is a difficult task for people who never had to define who their Elders were because the role of the Elder was collectively understood and unspoken (Ellerby 2001:18).

Old age, growing old, being Elderly in age, is a key determinant in defining Anishnawbek Elders. This is an example of a colonial determinant associated with the term Elder. Aboriginal people who were historically hunters and gathers would have not been afforded a way of life that allowed for the majority of their people to grow into what people consider old age by today's standards.

> I would base being an Elder on age. I would base it on being sixty years old and over. It has to be based on age.
> (Angel, Community Member)

> I still see the Elders by age. Age is an important factor, because it is associated with life experiences.
> (Chalize, Community Member)

Old age is not always a factor in determining who Elders is, some individuals can be spiritually gifted and begin to serve their communities at a very young age (Ellerby 2001:14). Nonetheless, you are not likely to see persons under the age of 40 sitting with Elders, or being acknowledged as Elders even by non-community members. The determinant of age is now a core concept of defining the Elder. Thus, individuals who are Elders can be estranged from their own community, because they are not viewed as being old enough to be identified as an Elder.

Like Canadians, the Anishnawbek are also influenced by stereotypical public images of Aboriginal Elders, rather than attempting to direct definitions, roles, and attributes of their Elders in reference to the Anishnawbek Way of Life. Several Sagamok community members defined their Elders according to sentimental clichés (discussed in chapter two) that are influenced by historical and contemporary colonial accounts.

> I like an Elder that is soft spoken, but has outgoing humor. Elders need to be good listeners, compassionate, and have a calm attitude.
> (Dashaye, Elder)

> An Elder is wise and full of love.
> (Ethan, Community Member)

> An Elder is someone with a positive attitude that does not drink or abuse drugs and so on. I do not like Elders that criticize, they have to be soft spoken, and not ready to judge.
> (Briannajan, Elder)

Defining the Elders in this manner contribute to their estrangement, and forces Elders into symbolic roles, because the heterogeneity of roles and representations that Elders can and do occupy are ignored. The method of defining the Anishnawbek Elders with out any reference to their Anishnawbek Way of Life, except as an expression of stereotypical, colonial defined cultural forms manifestly produces a distorted picture (Radin 1966:42).

In summary, the occurrence and extent of Elder estrangement is affected by how the Anishnawbek define their Elders according to colonial concepts. This forces their Elders into imaginary significations that do not recognize Elders. Elders will inevitably be left out and not given recognition if they do not possess certain qualities, attitudes or skills that are used by the Anishnawbek people to identify their Elders.

3.3.2 Unaccountability of the Elders

The youth have become easy scapegoats for the estrangement of Elders. Elders in Sagamok were quick to point out that "youth don't listen, youth do not acknowledge Elders, and youth are disrespectful". Some researchers have noted that Elders tend to believe that the problem is with the younger generations for the lack of intergenerational communication, for not listening to Elders (Garrett 1994:3).

> Youth have an obligation to listen to the Elders. I wish Elders would demand this.
> (Dashaye, Elder)

> Young people do not have the same respectful protocols for each other that Elders do…Younger people don't really want to listen…Younger people do not take the initiative to include younger people in their lives…It's the Elders that use make the first move to communicate, not the kids. So who is going to make the first move now? This is what is hard. We always depend on committees to do this. Where are those values?
> (Dashaye, Elder)

Not listening to Elders because of a lack of interest, lack of respect and lack of Elder acknowledgement was a similar theme that I came across in much of the written text on intergenerational communication (i.e. the assumption that younger people are not interested in listening to Elders). The theme of non-listening also came up again and again during my research with the Anishnawbek Elders, but I also noted that throughout my research none of the Elders personally acknowledged how any of their own behaviors or actions might have affected younger community members or why they felt that younger community members do not listen to the them. I will show that younger people may be avoidant of Elders because of other reasons, and not just due to the fact that they do not listen out of a lack of interest. A pertinent question that comes to mind is whether Elders acknowledge the fact that younger community members may not be listening to them due their own actions and/or behaviors, or do Elders simply view the act of non-listening as the fault of younger people?

Community members point out that besides language barriers, and instances of Elder non-accommodation, some Elders are so unapproachable because: Elders do not make themselves available, Elders will not admit their faults and younger people are often afraid to confront their Elders. Furthermore, community members feel that some Elders, because of their status (as Elders) seemingly do not acknowledge their behavior, thus they do not always accept responsibility for their actions; even in instances where Elders have displayed (and/or still do) unhealthy behaviors such as alcoholism, or being physical, emotional and/or sexual abusers.

In addition, a few community members feel turned off by the Elders who preach the ethics of the Anishnawbek Way of Life, but either do not act in accordance or cannot agree with one another about what the teachings are. Thus, younger community members witness how Elders contradict one another in their teachings, argue and criticize each other and younger community members. In the end, they do not wish to have contact with their Elders for all the above-mentioned reasons, resulting in the estrangement of Elders from the young. However, one should also keep in the mind that Elders tenuous behavior today, may be a result of their own efforts to reaffirm their cultural beliefs, traditions and teachings that were so greatly interfered with, because of direct experiences in the Indian residential schools, including an on-going experience of the effects of colonialism and Christianity throughout much of their lives.

Elders often do not make themselves readily available to younger community members. There is a rule that seems to exist between both generations that it is the responsibility of the youth to approach Elders. However, some youth believe that in accordance with some of the roles Elders claim to have (i.e. Healer, teacher), and as role models, Elders should also take the initiative to engage in active communication with the youth. It should not be the sole responsibility of younger community members to approach Elders. It should be a venture carried out by both generations, especially since there already exists intergenerational conflict.

> Elders always need to be invited. They just expect to have these roles, but they do not take active measures to be included in our lives. They think they should be invited, you always have to ask them first…It's not that I think they should to come me, I don't know. I would say it's not them; it's because of residential schools. Elders are afraid to talk. I guess you have to get their trust to get anything from them.
> (Angel, Community Member)

> It depends on what the situation might be where younger people have an obligation to listen to the Elders. I do not expect to be listened to all of the time, but I do feel upset when I am ignored.
> (Briannajan, Elder)

> Elders themselves do not make sure that they are included in community events. Elders to make sure they are included could also volunteer to share their knowledge. Instead of having to be always be invited or paid. They could volunteer to share their knowledge…Elders don't stop to tell us, but they don't show us either.
> (Angel, Community Member)

> Elders could be getting more involved themselves. They could visit with their community members more often, or stop by the offices just to say hello. Elders need to be more involved in community activities to become better Elders. There are community members who do not know their culture, and culture is always changing. Elders have to teach these community members, and how will Elders know things if they do not participate on their own.
> (Dashaye, Elder)

Other community members felt that Elders will not admit their faults and younger people are often afraid to confront their Elders. There was also a feeling of discomfort, when I asked if Elders should be confronted. Most community members did not know if this was proper, or if Elders indiscretions should be addressed at all.

> I am not sure who would tell an Elder that they have done something wrong. I think it is okay to be wrong and corrected, but I would not like to be corrected. I am a very sensitive person. Women especially do not like to be told that they are doing something wrong. If you address Elders negatively or scold Elders, they will retaliate. They'll know when they are doing something wrong. Maybe they will try to make amends. I am not going to say to an Elder, "you are wrong." Just walk away or else you might be creating bigger problems.
> (Briannajan, Elder)
>
> I don't think I can tell an Elder if they were in the wrong. I would not want too. I would not even know if they were wrong. They also might get offended. Other Elders can tell them that they have done something wrong. We are supposed to be respectful to Elders.
> (Angel, Community Member)
>
> Sure, not only young no matter whom it is, they can let me know if I have done something wrong, but I am usually not interested in that, and I don't feel like going out to hear it. So no, I would not be open to hearing my faults from some kid.
> (Chas, Elder)

"Elders who have abused their position of power and authority and have been abusive in their behavior, the need to break silence and no longer be inhibited by the status of Elders, recognizing Elders are humans who may also experience problems and be in need of care and healing, and discussing possible solutions to address the issue of unhealthy Elders" (Ellerby 2000:33), are all issues that need to be addressed in Sagamok. One community member brought forth their own concerns about individuals who have the title of Elder, and yet have demonstrated unhealthy behavior and attitudes.

> I am pissed off because Elders will not admit their faults. I was abused by some people who are now considered Elders in the community, who will not take responsibility for what they did too me. I would not be so bitter towards those Elders if they would talk about it. One time when I did confront an Elder on what they had did to me; they got offended and did not say sorry to me. In the end I felt bad and my feelings were hurt. I respect Elders because I am told to respect Elders personally I do not though.
> (Sasheahna, Community Member)

Issues of being taught to respect Elders, placing Elders on a pedestal, and fear from holding Elders accountable for their actions is a difficult issue. Nonetheless, it must be done not only for Elders to accept responsibility for their unhealthy behavior, but to assist the Elder in learning to discuss their behaviors with those they have hurt or victimized to begin the process of healing.

Some community members also feel turned off by their Elders, who claim they abide by the ethics of the Anishnawbek Way of Life, but either do not act in accordance or cannot agree with one another about what the teachings are.

> I think it is my responsibility to approach the Elders. But I am afraid of letting them know that they contradict one another, teachings between them are so different, and there is no agreement. I am scared of getting them offended or of them saying to me, "If you really wanted to know you would ask."
> (Angel, Community Member)

> What stops me from interacting with the Elders is because when 27 years old I went to an Elders conference. I saw Elders secretly criticizing each other, gossiping, probably because their teachings were not the same. This turned me off because the beliefs are so different between Elders. If they are trying to teach something wouldn't belief's be similar, because this causes me second guess them and be suspicious of Elders…For Elders to have solutions for the reserve, I kind of think so, but it would be conflicting and hard for them. Elders are separated by their conflicting views; if they were able to share the same views, or at least be similar it would be helpful. They could help the community more to better our

> situation if they could all ban together, but the only time they speak out about things is during wakes or some kind of tragedy.
> (Sasheahna, Community Member)

"The expectation of a unified culture by community members reflects the bounded, reified conception of culture that colonialism and multiculturalism promote, and so there is more at stake for Aboriginal communities if they do not present a unified culture. The politics of inclusion and recognition in Canada, as well as from youth in the community, depend on a unified culture"[22].

The youth and other younger community members are not alone in sharing the responsibility for Elder estrangement in Sagamok. Elders must acknowledge and be held accountable for their own actions that contribute to the occurrence and extent of estrangement, including intergenerational conflict. Shifting the blame on younger generations and targeting them as scapegoats burdens younger generations and greatly suppresses any opportunities to close the gap of Elder estrangement.

In summary, the double estrangement of Aboriginal Elders from mainstream Canadian society and from their own communities stems from an on-going program of cultural colonization (e.g., residential school policy), designed, established and enforced upon Aboriginal peoples in Canada to support and maintain the hegemony of the colonizers (Thiong'o 1993). Together, the program of cultural colonization and Christianity has created environments, which have led to some of the major causes of Elders double estrangement.

---

[22] Quoting Sara Dorow – Thesis Consultation July 2004

Aboriginal Elders find themselves estranged from mainstream Canadian society due to the following reasons:

- The historical displacement and current estrangement of Aboriginal Elders from Canadian society is not acknowledged, and therefore, is not understood by the majority of Canadians; including Aboriginal peoples. Canadians for the most part, are supportive of colonial policies enacted on Aboriginal peoples. Any attempts to understand the lived realities of Aboriginal peoples are contradicted by official colonial accounts, and their understandings about Aboriginal Elders lived experiences and how Elders are treated arise from stereotypical public accounts and/or images.

- The overall effects of colonialism, namely the Indian residential school and the Legacy, have led to reluctance by many Aboriginal Elders to engage and participate in mainstream Canadian institutions.

- The exposure of Aboriginal people to Canada's formal market economy did not include measures to accommodate the Elders. Largely due to the Euro-Canadian view that older Native people did not constitute a group of value or importance to the capitalist market economy of Canada. Thus, little was done to help Elders learn new and more applicable skills to become more equitable participants in Canadian society.

The compliance ideology of Aboriginal Elders (which was discussed within the context of the Anishnawbek Elder experience) is a major factor of Elders double estrangement. The Anishnawbek Elders, unlike their younger cohorts have not shifted their compliance ideologies toward understanding and incorporating the realities of the modern Anishnawbek experience, which in turn is influenced by Western colonial realities. This left Elders estranged from their own community members, who have very different norms and values, which they accept as more legitimate than the Elders. The compliance ideology of the Elders to the Anishnawbek Way of Life, and lack of assistance to acquire the resources, skills and knowledge to undergo the transvaluation process has also left them estranged from Canadian society. As a result, Elders do not trust or accept Euro-Canadian ideologies as being valuable or legitimate.

The estrangement of Anishnawbek Elders from their own community is compounded by at least three major factors:

- The Euro-Canadian (formal) education of younger Anishnawbek promotes the estrangement of Elders because of the: alienation Elders feel from formally educated individuals, the experience of alienating denial of identity by formally educated people, and the existing debate of formal education and the Anishnawbek ways of knowing. A debate accentuated by Elder's belief that formal education threatens: their authority on traditional knowledge, to abrogate people's understanding and acceptance of traditional knowledge, to cause acculturation or assimilation of formally educated individuals.

- Tribal nepotism and family divisions have an immense influence on which community members are acknowledged and ascribed the status of Elder through internal power dynamics. Furthermore, traditional tribal decision-making processes which have been discarded in favor of Euro-Canadian democratic efficiency driven models has diminished the roles of the Elders in the decision-making process.

- The significant loss of language, limits the ability of younger community members to effectively communicate with their Elders, interferes with the transvaluation process of Elders, and has led to the abrogation of teachings and understandings of the Anishnawbek Way of Life.

Other causes of Elder estrangement include how Anishnawbek define their Elders according to colonial concepts, and how some of the behaviors and actions of Elders that younger community members have witnessed have affected how younger community members acknowledge and respond to the Elders. The historical and contemporary effects of colonization and Christianity, and the environments that have been created have had, and will continue to have an immense impact on how Aboriginal Elders have become doubly estranged, and on the extent of double estrangement of Aboriginal Elders in Canada.

Chapter 4: Reflections and Limitations

4.1 Reflections

My thesis work has been a journey of decolonization and connection to the Anishnawbek. Throughout my life, I have been primarily a student of the Western Worldview, and of my mother's Blackfoot ways of knowing. Until recently, the main knowledge system in which I operated was the paradigm of colonialism (Bastien 1999:176); a paradigm that I have continuously struggled against because my consciousness has been shaped by Blackfoot ways of knowing. I never gave myself the opportunity to engage in, or to learn about my father's people, the Anishnawbek. Yet, I grew up among the Anishnawbek in the community of Sagamok.

My lived experiences in Sagamok (up until I was ten-years old, and then on and off again until I was sixteen years old) were lived without a connectedness to my ancestors, and all my Anishnawbek human and non-human relations. Therefore, I never shared a responsibility of renewal and balance with the Anishnawbek, especially with the Elders. As a result, I have experienced estrangement from the Elders most of my life. Instead of learning to share a common compliance ideology with the Elders, I was rebellious toward Elders, for what I believed were their shortcomings.

Like many youth my age, I did not know the lived experiences of the Elders, or the effect that colonialism and Christianity had in Sagamok. I blamed the Elders for many of the reserves problems. I thought the Elders had too much status, power and authority, which they did not use to the people's advantage. I always felt forced to reluctantly accommodate Elders, because I was afraid to confront Elders for all of the same reasons shared by other community members (a hypocritical act on my part, because I did not feel disconnected from Blackfoot Elders). I was angry at the advice Elders would offer, not aware of the fact they had a shared compliance ideology that was very different from my own—one that I never allowed the Elders to venture into and share with me. I also did not realize at the time that Elders in the community constituted a group that was just as frustrated and powerless as the youth.

My thesis research began with a graduate paper (same title as my thesis, I had already decided prior that this topic was going to be my the subject of my thesis research) that I wrote for a class on the Sociology of Aging. In that paper, I argued that estrangement was mainly the fault of Elders. My arguments arose from stereotypical assumptions and beliefs I had held about Elders. Consequently, in my original research paper on the double estrangement of Elders, I overly depended on Western Worldviews, I over-accommodated the Elders, and I blamed them for all of the problems on the reserve, and for their own estrangement.

When I started my actual thesis research, much of my beliefs about Elders were still the same. I thought that in writing this thesis I would be given the opportunity to strengthen the arguments presented in my original research paper. Thus, I attempted at first to integrate the knowledge that I had gained through my graduate studies with what I had understood to be my own cultural values. I soon realized that this was not enough; I was not exploring or understanding how Elder estrangement occurred, or the extent of that estrangement. This was because my research was not producing the knowledge and understandings possible from including the Anishnawbek constructions of knowledge and ways of knowing. Dr. Dorow encouraged me to participate in a cultural dialogue, to move beyond analyzing European images, official colonial accounts, and dominant theoretical discourses. In following this advice, I was given the opportunity to explore Elder estrangement using an Anishnawbek paradigm, along with the critical tools of postcolonial theory.

Hence, this thesis became the mechanism, which enabled me to begin my journey of connecting with the Anishnawbek Way of Life, and more importantly, with my Elders. I now understand why the Elders say what they do, act the way they act, and how they view the world. When I say that I respect my Elders, I now have a true understanding of what that means. In coming to understand how Elders are doubly estranged by incorporating the Elders and other community members own self-understandings, I became aware of my relationships to the community. This is why I state that my thesis research has been a journey of decolonization. It has been a journey that has allowed me to make connections, introduced me to learning about the Anishnawbek Way of Life, has changed the way that I understand the double estrangement of Elders, and has reaffirmed my sense of *being* in the world.

Dr. James Frideres (1994) wrote a short paper entitled, "The Future of Our Past: Native Elderly in Canadian Society." In his paper, Frideres discusses how older Native people are in a state of double jeopardy, and as a result are experiencing double alienation. The concept of double alienation presented by Frideres is what attracted me to begin studying what I later referred to as the double estrangement of Aboriginal Elders in Canada.

> Older Native people are experiencing double jeopardy; they have been forgotten by their own people and ignored by the rest of Canadian society…In short, elderly Native people have experienced double alienation, as they have remained outside the mainstream Canadian institutional structure as well as outside the changing Native community. (Frideres 1994:30-33)

I easily accepted and understood Frideres argument about how older Native people were alienated from mainstream Canadian society and in Native communities (i.e. Elders were not able to undergo a transvaluation process of their compliance ideology), but double alienation was a concept that I did not fully take hold of, because Frideres did not offer any other major causes of estrangement nor any information on the extent of separation of Elders from the community or from mainstream Canadian society. Consequently, in order to better understand Elder's double alienation, I decided to take on this topic for my thesis study.

As I began my research, I was advised at my prospectus defense to use postcolonial studies as a framework to guide my research. Initially, I thought the inclusion of postcolonial theories would override the achievements that I might make in understanding Elders' estrangement according to the Anishnawbek worldview. I quickly learned that the study of postcolonialism would be extremely beneficial in coming to comprehend the historical and contemporary Canadian-Aboriginal relationships in Canada. I came to understand that "postcolonialism, like other post-isms, does not signal a closing off of that which it contains (colonialism), or even a rejection (which would not be possible in any case), but rather an opening of a field of inquiry and understanding" (Dehay 2004:1). I concluded then, postcolonialism would be beneficial to my research, because in combination with the Anishnawbek constructions of knowledge and understandings, I would not be forced to ignore the fact that Aboriginal peoples in Canada are still under the vise of twentieth century colonialism (Cook-Lynn 1997:14).

The use of postcolonial studies in my research assisted me in exploring and understanding the processes of colonialism in Canada on Aboriginal peoples. Partha Chaterjee (1993:10), in "The Nation and its Fragments," characterizes the colonial project as "...the normalizing rule of colonial difference, namely, the preservation of alienness of the ruling group". Later in the text he clarifies this difference to mean, "representing the 'other' as inferior and radically different, and hence incorrigibly inferior" (133). Colonialism can further be defined as a "way of maintaining an unequal international relation of economic and political power" (Williams and Chrisman 1994:4) employing social, cultural and religious means of control, as well as economic and political ones (Dehay 2004:1). However, it was not until I came across the term cultural colonization, that I was finally able to fully grasp an understanding of the Canadian-Aboriginal colonial relationship.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1993) in his theory and fiction has demonstrated effectively that colonization is not just a political and economic subjugation of continents, but rather requires an on-going program of cultural colonization to support and maintain the hegemony of the colonizers:

> ...Economic and political control inevitably leads to cultural dominance and this in turn deepens that control. The maintenance, management, manipulation, and mobilization of the entire system of education, language and language use, literature, religion, the media, have always ensured for the oppressor nation power over the transmission of a certain ideology, set of values, outlook, attitudes, feelings, etc, and hence power over the whole area of consciousness. This in turn leads to the control of the individual and collective self-image of the dominated nation and classes as well as their image of the dominated nations and classes (51).

Using the concept of colonization presented by Thiong'o, I was able to observe in my research with the Anishnawbek the effects and extent of colonization which clearly continues today (e.g., the Legacy, troubled youth, the loss of traditions and culture, diminished roles of Elders, and their experience with estrangement and so on) in terms of the on-going neo-colonial relationships between the Canadian state and the Anishnawbek.

In using a bicultural approach, I was able to get away from having to adhere to romantic and colonial accounts of Elders, of which I already had taken a negative view. All of the written accounts about Elders either limit their inclusion to cultural advisors/consultants or write about them (when they are part of the subject matter) as social and cultural actors in an overly simplified romantic fashion using an abundance of sentimental clichés. Those types of written accounts do not have any meaning for me. They do not include or even explore the reality of Elders' socio-economic status, their everyday needs and concerns, or what their real situational status resembles in Indian country. Written accounts about Elders disagree with what I have observed as an Aboriginal person. Most Elders I know are ignored, hardly included in community life, and are living in extreme poverty. Unfortunately this romanticism for the Elders is recreated in Indian country all of the time.

There seems to be a need to make Elders larger than life, largely due to the historical and contemporary stance of Aboriginal people's need for Canada to recognize that they are a sovereign nation of people, and that Aboriginal cultural forms of knowing, tradition and history are not only viable but also valid. Couture (1991:204) states that the late 1960's and 1970's witnessed the political emergence of Aboriginal people in Canada, especially in Alberta. The opening round of political and social activity by both Canadian and Aboriginal political and service leaders and organizers, initially enthusiastic, climaxed in early 1960 (because of the Red Paper-White Paper ordeal). It started that same year with

Native leaders seeking out Elders, and continued subsequently when others also began the trek back to the Elders of their tribes.

> Early on they (Elders) were, so to speak hammered back into the woodwork. Long prescribed and banned by governments and churches, now barely emerged from decades of withdrawn, underground activity, they are perceived not as harbingers of a lost Eden, but as the oral historians, guardians of the Secrets, as interpreters of the Life of People…In the late 1960's triggered by a sudden, strong wave of seekers…Elders were faced with dire and unsettling questions about identity and survival, and with basic paradoxes regarding the nature of the Native world and the fundamental issues about the world in which humans live. (Couture 1991:202)

Elders became "the saviors," of a way of life, and identity that was lost. They were now a generation of people who could reaffirm Aboriginal beliefs and had knowledge of traditional practices and knowledge before that knowledge was too greatly interfered with and changed by colonialism and Christianity. Elders had the knowledge that could demonstrate proof that Aboriginal people are a sovereign nation of people with their own systems of governing. It is no wonder then, that there is perceived need to make Elders appear larger than life.

However, this contributes greatly to their estrangement. Not all Elders are acknowledged as having "this knowledge" that so many seek out to reaffirm their identity, so some Elders will never receive recognition for their life experiences. Thus, they will never receive the title "Elder." Not all Elders are Healers and Teachers, many are like the ones I have interviewed, they are Community Elders. Furthermore, because many Elders are placed in a position of respect, many Aboriginal people do not know how to cope with their own expectations of how their Elders should be treated in accordance to the larger-than-life image that they have attached to their Elders.

The rhetorical reverence of Elders is promoted specifically at special, cultural or traditional community events. For example, it was common (and still is) to hear Anishnawbek leaders and other community people at the above-mentioned events to say something along the lines of how the Elders are respected, are wisdom keepers, or "embody a power and awesome beauty" (Couture 1991:209). One community member mentioned the ways in which Elders are talked about, but never seen:

> I always hear our Chief saying our Elders, our Elders...but I never see them.
> (Sasheahna, Community Member)

The fact that Elders are talked about with reverence, but never seen is what really made Frideres' work stand out to me. I thought for once, someone is writing about Elders in a way that shows what their everyday life circumstances are, without falling victim to what I refer to as Elder romanticism—that is, writing about Elders in a fashion that characterizes them as only a cultural construct. Abu-Lughod (1991:154) has characterized the cultural construct as referring only to colonial typifications and abstractions, at the expense of persons, events, and the qualities of lived experiences.

During the research process, I was grateful to find other researchers (Brown 1989; Castile 1992; Strong and VanWinkle 1996; Williams et al. 1997; Baldrige 1996, 2001; Buchwald et al. 2000) who were able to write about Elders without idealizing them. The inclusion of Anishnawbek self-understandings reinforced the everyday realities of the Elders and it drew attention to the concept of double estrangement, which for many community members was an issue that had not been considered prior to our discussions (no doubt due in part to Elder romanticism through first-hand and written accounts). When community members came to an understanding about how their Elders were estranged, they were concerned and wanted to know more about Elder estrangement. After the interviews were complete several community members (including Elders) asked if they could receive a copy of my finished thesis.

In response to their request, plans to disseminate the findings of my thesis back into the community of Sagamok were undertaken. This thesis will be available to community members at the library in Sagamok, and copies will be available at the main education office. My post secondary advisor at that time suggested that I present some of my research at Sagamok's recent graduation ceremonies in light of some of the requests by the community to learn more about Elder estrangement. After speaking about Elder estrangement in Sagamok, many other community members stepped forward to say that they were unaware of Elders experience with estrangement and were surprised that the phenomena of Elder estrangement was occurring on the reserve.

Community members made strong recommendations at that time, that I take measures to ensure the findings of my research are disseminated back into the community. This falls in line with the principles of ownership, control, access and possession, all themes long advocated by Aboriginal people (Schnarch 2004:80). Following with what I have learned according to the principles of the Anishnawbek Way of Life, the requests of community members demonstrate an expression of self-determination in research. I am in strong favor of this process, because it has never been an intention of mine to become "part of a colonizing horde of researchers" (Trask 1991:162), who use colonial research practices which do not empower the researched community to make change.

The goals and objectives of my research have led to what I now consider to be the main aspiration of my thesis: bringing attention to how the double estrangement of Aboriginal Elders has occurred. The kind of change that should be brought about is a change in ideas about how Elders are defined and thus treated among younger Aboriginal people. In relying on and promoting Elder romanticism, Aboriginal people are unable to cope with their own expectations of how Elders should be treated.

4.2 Challenges

A number of challenges have arisen as a result of the findings of my research, but first, I would like to recapitulate the findings of my research: The double estrangement of Aboriginal Elders from mainstream Canadian society and from their own communities stems from (1) an ongoing program of cultural program of cultural colonization (i.e. via the Indian residential schools, and Christianity), and (2) the Elders adherence to the Anishnawbek Way of Life. Collectively, the program of cultural colonization, Christianity and the Elders adherence to the Anishnawbek Way of life has created environments, which have led to some of the major causes of Elders double estrangement: The formal education of younger Anishnawbek, tribal nepotism, and language barriers, other factors include the way in which the Anishnawbek accept and define their Elders according to colonial concepts. The behaviors and actions of Elders that are witnessed by their younger cohorts have affected how younger community members acknowledge and respond to their Elders.

In response to my findings that suggest extensive colonial and Christian interference, and ongoing influence have placed Sagamok to engage in the reconstruction of their institutions through collective ethnic renewal, which involves cultural revivals and restorations[23]. Sagamok and other Aboriginal communities sharing similar historical and current experiences, that have Elders living in the community experiencing double estrangement, particularly estrangement from the community will have to face an unprecedented challenge of reconstructing their social, cultural, economic, and political institutions to include all Elders. Sagamok and other Aboriginal communities will have to ensure that their Elders are included and acknowledged in each step of this process. This is necessary in order to begin to address the occurrence and extent of Elder estrangement. To achieve this, Sagamok must find best practices in which to cope with how their Elders should be treated.

---

[23] Groups construct their cultures in many ways, which involve mainly the reconstruction of historical culture, and the construction on new culture. Cultural reconstruction techniques include revivals and restorations of historical cultural practices and institutions; new cultural constructions include revisions of current culture and innovations—the creation of new cultural forms. Cultural construction and reconstruction are ongoing group tasks in which new and renovated cultural symbols, activities, and materials are continually being added to and removed from existing cultural repertoires. Cultural revivals and restorations occur when lost or forgotten cultural forms or practices are excavated and reintroduced, or when lapsed or occasional cultural forms or practices are refurbished and reintegrated into contemporary culture. (Nagel 1994:162)

For instance, I argued that Elders are not treated in a manner that is consistent with their everyday real life situations. Canadians and Aboriginal people assume that Aboriginal Elders are living a larger-than-life existence, which have arisen for stereotypical images and accounts. Elders are in a position where they no longer have well-defined roles as a result of the changing nature of both Canadian society and Sagamok. Thus, Elders of Sagamok have experienced an evolution—one that is ongoing—into unclear and less meaningful roles. To re-establish Elders roles, and find best practices in which to cope with how Elders should be treated, Elders should no longer be discussed as social and cultural actors limited only to symbolic roles, but included in all aspects of community life. This means that Sagamok will have to find methods by which to assist the Elders in the transvaluation process, whereby both the older and younger generations can mutually agree on shared compliance ideologies that will be beneficial for both generations: to deal with intergenerational breakdown, estrangement of Elders, and to reaffirm a sense of a unified culture for younger Anishnawbek.

I stated that the significant loss of language, limits the ability of younger community members to effectively communicate with their Elders, interferes with the transvaluation process of Elders, and has led to the abrogation of teachings and understandings of the Anishnawbek Way of Life. This hinders the expectation of a unified culture by community members, which reflects the bounded, reified conception of culture that colonialism and multiculturalism promote, and so there is more at stake for Aboriginal communities if they do not present a unified culture. The politics of inclusion and recognition in Canada, as well as from youth in the community, depend on a unified culture. Therefore, assisting the Elders in the transvaluation process, and including Elders in the finding solutions to overcome language barriers are methods that may prove to be beneficial in taking steps towards a having a unified culture between the younger and older generations.

However, the impact of beginning to assist Elders in the transvaluation process also has an unprecedented challenge, which is ensuring that the compliance ideologies of the Elders are not subject to any further loss of culture or language. Every effort should be taken to ensure that any adoption of new compliance ideologies by Elders should be a practice by which the principles of the Anishnawbek Way of Life count as advances on modern and traditional ideas or practices now being utilized in Sagamok.

The overall effects of colonialism, namely the Indian residential school and the Legacy, have become foundational events in the experiences of the youth, which highlight the intergenerational effects of the Legacy that have interfered with the physical, emotional, mental and spiritual life of Sagamok. Sagamok's youth, I argued are experiencing learned helplessness, because of the negative by-products of colonialism (i.e. the Indian residential school experience and the

Legacy) that have caused the internal struggles and confusion over what it means to be Anishnabe. Thus, assisting the youth in establishing a cultural identity is another challenge that Sagamok must deal with, but is necessary in order to take major steps toward ethnic renewal, presenting a unified a culture, and the disengagement of practices among both the old and young that cause Elder estrangement. Establishing a cultural identity is a realm where Elders can assist youth in reaffirming their sense of belonging, in order to guide them in their sense of becoming. This need not be done to the exclusion of non-Aboriginal culture. In fact, it is a situation that cannot be avoided. Thus, Elders must take proactive measures to learn about the everyday modern realities of youth, and that includes the youth's experiences in the non-Aboriginal world.

Elders should be open to the new and present day realities of their youth. This means that Elders must understand that their youth who sometimes leave to seek out better social, economic and/or educational opportunities off-reserve are not necessarily lost to the "white man's world." At the same time, the youth in their search for a cultural identity and an understanding of the modern world in which they live should allow Elders to play a role in that process; for younger community members, this means understanding that Elders can and do have an influence in their experiences with the non-Aboriginal world. Limiting their Elders to a symbolic role in their search for a cultural identity or while they seek out better social, economic and educational opportunities greatly contributes to the youth's state of confusion and normlessness, and to the estrangement of

Anishnawbek Elders. All of which are consequences that I demonstrated in my discussion on intergenerational communication and on the formal education of younger community members.

For example, I stated that Sagamok community members showed a lack of confidence that are able to effectively listen and communicate with each other outside of familial, cultural and traditional contexts. Reflecting decades of intergenerational breakdown, which contributing to their generation gap, and on-going stereotypes and assumptions that they have about each other, which are reinforced by acts of over-accommodation and reluctance on the part of both generations. The Euro-Canadian (formal) education of younger Anishnawbek has caused some to experience and alienating denial of identity. The Elders feel alienated from formally educated individual and while they acknowledge formal education they do not view it as being superior to their own traditional ways of life. Elders believe that formal education threatens: their authority on traditional knowledge, to abrogate people's understanding and acceptance of traditional knowledge, to cause acculturation or assimilation of formally educated individuals.

I made the suggestion that Elders have always existed in various roles in various contexts with noted significance and recognition. However, the changing nature of Sagamok, shifting compliance ideologies, the influence of colonialism and Christianity has overwhelmed the Elder concept with abstractions not previously used by the Anishnawbek to identify the Elders. As a result, the contemporary concepts of today's Elders along with its accompanying characteristics are colonial in nature, resulting in an imaginary signification of Anishnawbek Elders by the community of Sagamok. Therefore, another challenge that exists for the Anishnawbek includes rejecting the colonial concepts that they use to define Elders, which are made up of abstractions that are not applicable to the everyday Anishnawbek experience. The Anishnawbek must seek out opportunities to exercise best practices in which they can self-define who their Elders are in accordance with how they and their Elders view the world, and how the world ought to be. This must be accomplished apart from outside influences, opinions and definitions that are not culturally specific or culturally sensitive to the Anishnawbek experience.

Others control the inclusion of Elders for the greater part in the community of Sagamok. Tribal nepotism and family divisions have an immense influence on which community members are acknowledged and ascribed the status of Elder through internal power dynamics. Therefore, the inequalities, misunderstandings, and misinterpretations the community of Sagamok must target are no longer between those of just themselves and the larger government and political bodies, but those between the generations and members within their own community. This will have to include finding best methods for addressing nepotism and family in-fighting issues in the community. Sagamok does not have to start from square one to find solutions to the problems that threaten community life and people's well-being. There are already programs in place that can either deal directly with some problems that I have mentioned in regards to the Elders, or could provide the structure for new program development.

Sagamok has a social service network that includes partnerships between Child and Family Services, Health and Social Services and Eagle's Lodge (this lodge was not up and running at the time of my research, but is now a place of residence for Elders, and offers a variety of on reserve services that were not previously available). The challenge then, is to think of new ways of approaching the estrangement of Elders (and related problems), and to develop new models without being restrictive in coming up with new ideas for solutions by the nature of programs already in place (Hoyle 1994:15). In saying that, I also realize that I have identified ways in which some of the programs can be part of the problem in Sagamok (i.e. Elders mistrust, lack of awareness of programs and so on). Therefore, the community of Sagamok, especially those responsible for servicing the needs of Elders must engage in a strong campaign to ensure that Elders are aware of on reserve programs, and should offer awareness and sensitivity training to both Elders and those who work with Elders to overcome issues of mistrust.

4.3 Issues for Future Research

My thesis research does not answer or address all of the issues of Elders double estrangement. I may not have asked all the right questions, or had the means to address those questions properly. This falls in line with a quote of one of my lifelong Teachers (Born With A Tooth): "You get the right answer, only if you know how to ask the right question. The hard part then, is finding ways to ask the right questions. Once you know how to ask the right question, finding the right answer is inevitable." I believe that my thesis research has opened a passageway for much more research to be done in the area of Aboriginal Elder estrangement. It has brought to light a need for more research, so that perhaps the right questions can be asked, and thus a potential for more accurate methods of best practice to find solutions to Elder estrangement. My Teacher would say then that, we are still in the phase of finding ways to ask the right questions (his way of saying more research needs to be done).

A core issue that should be addressed for future research is responding to questions about how the relations of colonialism depend on abstractions of culture, especially in relation to the youth. More clearly stated, youth are no longer accepting the argument that you have to choose between the mainstream culture and Aboriginal culture. The youth's social and economic survival depends on being able to move between cultures. The youth's cultural survival is dependent on what their concepts of culture are, which can be reinforced in their relationships with Elders. However, colonialism continues to threaten the youth's ability to easily move between cultures precisely because it forces youth into a position where they have to continuously rethink and redefine their beliefs, roles and place in the world. Therefore, I pose the following two questions: Does moving between cultures cause Aboriginal youth to become disengaged from their Elders, because colonialism depends on Aboriginal youth believing in abstractions of culture? And do the differences in movement towards social, economic and cultural survival affect intergenerational relationships in terms of achieving common ideologies about the world? (i.e. older Native people think of *going back* to traditions, while youth think of *turning* to traditions)?

Another challenge for future research lies in finding best methods of addressing the experience of estrangement for non-reserve based Elders. The number of urban Elders is increasing and will continue to increase over the next decade (John & Salvini 1996; Baldridge 2001; Statistics Canada 2001). Living in urban areas can either decrease or increase the Elder's experience of double estrangement, depending on various social determinants, especially their level of formal education. Being more formally educated might improve an Elder's chance of not being marginalized. However, this is an assumption, one that should be tested in theory.

I also believe that the estrangement of Elders should be investigated by looking at how culture is packaged in relation to cultural resurgence among Aboriginal people, and how that will affect Elder's experience of alienation, which is mainly due to the fact that there is already a tendency to over-idealize the Elders current historical, contemporary and social realities.

I have argued throughout the discourse of this thesis that Elders double estrangement results from an ongoing program of cultural colonization leading to the formal education of younger Anishnawbek, tribal nepotism and language barriers as major factors of Elders estrangement. I hope that readers of my thesis research will seek out new lessons for postcolonialism and for Aboriginal people about why Elders are stuck in a position of double estrangement, by finding out other possible colonial influences that have put Elders into a position of double estrangement.

4.4 Conclusion

The ongoing effects of colonialism and Christianity have forced Elders to rethink and redefine themselves and their roles as a result of coping with the experiences of double estrangement that have arisen in response to the changing character of Sagamok. Changes in Sagamok are consequences of the postcolonial world in which they now find themselves, and give rise to factors that create Elders double estrangement, such as the need for community members to become more formally educated, the occurrence of tribal nepotism, and the significant loss of language. All of these factors inhibit the Elders' ability to be included in the community, and other community members tend to control the extent of Elders inclusion in the community. Furthermore, the continuing practice by Anishnawbek people to place their Elders into roles according to colonial concepts and images, and according to events that are consequences of their colonial and Christian experiences does not allow the Elders to be included as active community members at all levels of the community.

Elder estrangement in Aboriginal communities is not an issue that receives the same type of attention that is given to other Aboriginal problems. In Sagamok, the most often cited community problems are: suicides, sexual abuse, education, and unemployment to name a few. The estrangement of Elders is not highlighted or viewed as a major problem in the community. The chance of community members acknowledging or finding solutions to the estrangement of Elders will be a difficult process. It will take a conscious effort by both community members and Elders to enter and be involved in processes that will make it possible to address the major causes of, and to alleviate the extent and stresses of Elders' double estrangement. Consciously knowing the effects of cultural disruption, and studying the Anishnawbek Way of Life, will contribute to the knowledge necessary to understand today's double estrangement of Aboriginal Elders.

This study was the first of its kind in Sagamok to attempt to analyze the experience of Elders double estrangement. The results of this study will be disturbing for some Anishnawbek people given the fact so many Anishnawbek believe that the rhetorical reverence of Elders is a concept that is not only spoken, but also practiced. Thus, the notion that Elders are doubly estranged may be difficult to come to terms with. However, it seems enough to have initiated some thinking about how the formal education of community members, tribal nepotism, and the loss of language within an intergenerational context have led to the estrangement of Elders. Until changes are implemented, the extent of Elders double estrangement will continue to affect the overall well-being of the people in Sagamok.

References

Abu-Lughod, Lila. 1991. "Writing against Culture." Pp. 137-62 in *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, edited by Richard G. Fox. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Alfred, Taiaiake. 1999. *Peace, power, righteousness: an indigenous manifesto*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.

Akerman, Kim. 1995. " Tradition and change in aspects of Contemporary Australian religious objects" Pp. 43-50 in *Politics of the secret* (Oceania Monograph Volume 45), edited by Christopher Anderson. Sydney, Australia: University of Sydney Press.

Anderson, Kay and Mona Domosh. 2002. "North American spaces/postcolonial stories." *Cultural Geographic's* 9:125-28.

Angel, Jacqueline L., and Dennis P. Hogan. 1991. "The Demography of Minority Aging Populations". Pp. 1-13 in *Minority Elders: Longevity, Economics and Health, Building a Public Policy Base*. Washington, DC: Gerontological Society of America.

Armstrong-Ester, Christopher A. 1994. "Health and Social Needs of Native Seniors". Pp. 38-48 in *Writings in Gerontology*, vol 15. Ottawa, ON: National Advisory Council on Aging.

Baldridge, David. 1996. "Elders." Pp. 185-187 in *Native America in the 20th Century: an encyclopedi*a (Volume 452), edited by Mary B. Davis. New York: Garland Reference Library of Social Science.

______. 2001. "Indian Elders: Family Traditions in Crisis." *American Behavioral Scientist* 44(9):1515-27.

Bastien, Betty. 1999. "Blackfoot Ways of Knowing – Indigenous Science," Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Transformative Learning, University of San Francisco, San Francisco, CA.

Ahenakew, Freda and H.C. Wolfart, eds, and trans. 1992. *ko'hkominawak ota'cimowiniwa'wa - Our grandmothers' lives, as told in their own words.* Saskatoon, SK: Fifth House Publishers.

Berger, Thomas R. 1991. *A Long and Terrible Shadow: White Values, Native Rights in the Americas, 1492-1992.* Vancouver, BC: Douglas & McIntyre.

Beteille, Andre. 1998. "The Idea of Indigenous People." *Current Anthropology* 39(2):187-91.

Bienvenue, Rita M. and Jay Goldstein, eds. 1985. *Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada.* 2nd ed. Toronto, ON: Butterworth and Company Ltd.

Born With A Tooth, Milton. 2004. Warrior/Protector of the Niitsitapi (Real People) Blackfoot Confederacy, and A Leader of the Lonefighter's Society. Personal Communication. August 1.

Brant, Elizabeth A. 1980. "On secrecy and the control of knowledge: Taos Pueblo." Pp. 123-46 in *Secrecy: A cross-cultural perspective*, edited by Stanton K. Tefft. New York: Human Sciences Press.

Brayboy, Bryan McKinley. 2000. "The Indian and the researcher: tales from the field." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 15(4):415-27.

Broderick, Robert C., ed. 1976. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson.

Brown, Arnold S. 1989. "A survey on elder abuse at one Native American tribe." *Journal of Elder Abuse and Neglect* 1(2):17-37.

Brown, Michael F. 1998. "Can Culture Be Copyrighted?" *Current Anthropology* 39(2):193-222.

Buchwald, Dedra, Sue Tomita, Suzanne Hartman, Richard Furman, Matthew Duden, and Spero Manson. 2000. "Physical Abuse of Urban Native Americans." *Journal of General Intern Medicine* 15:562-64.

Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. 2001. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile* (Catalogue no. 85-224-XIE), Ottawa, Canada: Statistics Canada.

Castile, George Pierre. 1992. "Indian Sign: Hegemoney and Symbolism in Federal Indian Policy." Pp. 165-86 in *State and Reservation: New Perspectives on Federal Indian Policy,* edited by George Pierre Castile and Robert L. Bee. Tucson, AZ: University Press.

______. 1996. "The Commodification of Indian Identity." *American Anthropologist, New Series* 98(4):743-49.

Castle, Gregory. 2001. *Postcolonial Discourses: An Anthology*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc.

Chatterjee, Partha. 1993. *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. New Jersey, NY: Princeton UP.

Cheyfitz, Eric. 2002. "The (Post)colonial Predicament of Native American Studies." *Inventions* 4(3): 405-27.

Claes, Rhonda and Deborah Clifton. 1998. *Needs and Expectations for Redress of Victims of Abuse at Native Residential Schools*. Ottawa, Canada: Law Commission of Canada.

Clifton, James A., ed. 1990. *The Invented Indian: cultural fictions and government policies*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers.

Comaroff, John L. and Jean Comaroff. 1992. *Ethnography and Historical Imagination*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Cook-Lynn, Elizabeth. 1997. "Who Stole Native American Studies?" *Wicazo Sa Review* 12:9-28.

Corbin, Juliet M. and Anselm L. Strauss. 1990. "Grounded theory research: procedures, canons, and evaluation criteria." *Qualitative Sociology* 13:3-21.

Couture, Joseph E. 1991. "The Role of Native elders: Emergent Issues." Pp. 201-17 in *The Cultural Maze: Complex Questions on Native Destiny in Western Canada*, edited by John W. Friesen. Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises.

Dahlseide, Susan. 2004. Health Promotions Director, Nechi Training, Research and Health Promotions Institute. Personal Consultation. July 27.

Dehay, Terry. 2004. "A Postcolonial Perspective (Work in Progress)." Postcolonial Resources. South Oregon University, Retrieved May 12, 2004 (http://www.sou.edu/English/IDTC/Issues/postcol/Resources/Terry/dehay/htm).

Deiter, Constance. 1999. *From our mothers' arms: The intergenerational impact of residential schools in Saskatchewan*. Toronto, ON: United Church Publishing House.

Dickson, Geraldine and Katherine L. Green. 2001. "Participatory Action Research: Lessons Learned with Aboriginal Grandmothers." *Health Care for Women International* 22: 471-82.

Dorow, Sara. 2004. Thesis Consultation. July 26.

Dumont, James. 1976. "Journey to Daylight-Land: Through Ojibwa Eyes." *Laurentian University Review* 8(2):31-2.

Dumont-Smith, Claudette. 2002. *Aboriginal Elder Abuse in Canada*. Ottawa, Canada: Aboriginal Healing Foundation.

Edwards, Helen and Patricia Noller. 1993. "Perceptions of Overaccommodation Used by Nurses in Communication with the Elderly. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 12(3): 207-223.

Elder Jane Doe. 2004. "Teachings of the Moon – Women Elder's Circle on Parenting". Seminar presented at the 8th Annual International Gathering on Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS), July 4, Edmonton, AB.

Ellerby, Johnathon H. 2001. *Working with Aboriginal Elders*. Winnipeg, MB: Native Studies Press.

Ellerby, Lawrence A. 2000. *Paths to wellness: a gathering of communities addressing sexual offending behavior/completed by Lawrence Ellerby and Jacqueline Bedard.* Ottawa, Canada: Aboriginal Corrections Policy Unit, Solicitor General Canada.

Fenge, Lee-Ann. 2002. "Practicing partnership – participative inquiry with older people." *Social Work Education* 21(2):171-82.

Fletcher, Christopher. 2003. "Community-Based Research Relationships with Aboriginal Communities in Canada: An Overview of Context and Process." *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health* 1(1):26-61.

Foreman, Kathleen. 1991. "A dramatic approach to native teacher education." *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 18:73-80.

Fraser, Fil. 1994. "The Participation of Aboriginal and Other Cultural Minorities in Cultural Development." *Canadian Journal of Communication* 19(3):477-94.

Frideres, James S. 1994. "The Future of Our Past: Native Elderly in Canadian Society." Pp. 17-37 in *Writings in Gerontology* (Volume 15), Ottawa, ON: National Advisory Council on Aging.

Friesen, John W. 1995. *You Can't Get From There from Here: The Mystique of North American Plains Indians Culture and Philosophy*. Dubeque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company.

Furniss, Elizabeth. 1995. *Victims of Benevolence: The Dark Legacy of the Williams Lake Residential School*. Vancouver, BC: Arsenal Pulp Press.

Garrett, J.T. 1994. "Understanding Indian Children, Learning From Indian Elders." *Children Today* 22(4):1-6.

Giddens, Anthony. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge, England: Polity Press.

Gonzalez, Nancie L. 1988. *Sojourners of the Caribbean: Ethnogenesis and Ethnohistory of the Garfuna*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Graveline, Frye-Jean. 2000. "Circle as a methodology: enacting an Aboriginal paradigm." *Qualitative Studies in Education* 13(4):361-70.

Grosse, Richard, James Youngblood Henderson, and Richard Carter. 1994. *Continuing Poundmaker and Riel's Quest: Presentations Made at a Conference on Aboriginal Peoples and Justice*. Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing.

Haig-Brown, Celia. 1988. *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School*. 7th ed. Vancouver, BC: Arsenal Pulp Press.

Hall, Stuart. 1990. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." Pp. 222-237 in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, edited by John Rutherford. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

______. 1991. "Ethnicity: Identity and difference." *Radical America* 23(4):2-20.

Hamilton, Alvin Chown and C. Murray Sinclair. 1991. *The justice system and Aboriginal people: Report of the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba.* Winnipeg, MB: Queen's Printer.

Hill, Dawn Martin. 2000. "Indigenous Knowledge as a Tool for Self-Determination and Liberation." Paper presented at the National Association of Native American Studies Section, February 21-26, Houston, TX.

Hogan, Patrick Colm. 2000. *Colonialism and Cultural Identity*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Hohn, Nancy. 1986. *Issues Affecting Older Natives in Alberta: A Discussion Paper*. Edmonton, AB: Senior Citizens Secretariat.

Hoyle, Marcia. 1994. *Bringing Justice Home: Report of the Sagamok Anishnawbek Justice Research Project. McMaster University: Fund for Dispute Resolution*. Retrieved May 12, 2004 (http//: www.nicr.ca/publications/fund/sagamok.html).

Hutcheon, Linda. 1989. *Splitting Images: Contemporary Canadian Ironies*. Toronto, ON: Oxford Press.

Jacko, Marion. 2001. "The Experience of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada". Seminar presented on the Economics of Racism, The International Council on Human Rights Policy, January 24-25, Geneva.

Jervis, Lori L., Yvonne M. Jackson, and Spero M. Manson. 2002. "Need for, availability of, and barriers of long-term care services for older American Indians." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology* 17(4):295-311.

John, Robert and Margot L. Salvini. 1996. "Training in Support of the American Indian eldercare campaign: Replication of an American Indian." *Education Gerontology* 22(8):723-35.

Johnston, B. H. 1991. "One Generation From Extinction." Pp.10-15 in *Native Writer's and Canadian Writing*, edited by William Herbert New. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

Johnston, Patrick. 1983. *Native Children and the Child Welfare System.* Ottawa, Canada: Canadian Council on Social Development.

Kelly, Mary E. and Joane Nagel. 2002. "Ethnic re-identification: Lithuanian Americans and Native Americans." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 28(2):275-89.

Kemper, Susan. 1994. "Elderspeak: Speech accommodation to older adults." *Aging and Cognition* 1:17-28.

Knockwood, Isabelle. 1992. *Out of the depths: The experiences of Mi'kmaw children at the Indian residential school at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia.* Lockeport, NS: Roseway.

Kratz, Corrine A. 1993. "We've Always Done It Like This...Except for a Few Details: Tradition and Innovation in Okiek Ceremonies." *Journal of Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35(1):30-65.

Kroeber, Karl, ed. 1994. *American Indian Persistence and Resurgence*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Krotz, Larry. 1990. *Indian Country: inside another Canada*. Toronto, ON: Stoddart.

Krupat, Arnold. 1996. *The turn to the native: Studies in critism and culture*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Lafrance, Jean. 2003. "The Sturgeon Lake Community Experience: A Journey Toward Empowerment." *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health* 1(1):115-43.

MacDonell, John E. 1994. "Preface." Pp. 8-9 in *Writings in Gerontology* (Volume 15), Ottawa, ON: National Advisory Council on Aging.

Magilvy, Joan K. 1996. "The role of rural home and community-based services." Pp. 64-84 in *Long-term care for the rural elderly: New directions in services, research, and* policy, edited by Graham D. Rowles, Joyce E. Beaulieu, and Wayne W. Myers. New York: Springer.

Maya, D. 1997. *Narrating Colonialism: Postcolonial Images of British in Indian English Fiction*. New Delhi: Prestige.

Mbembe, Achille. 2001. *On the Postcolony*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

McLeod, Dr. Martha. 2002. "Keeping the Circle Strong." *Tribal College* 13(4):10-14.

McLuhan, Marshall and Quentin Fiore. 1967. *The Medium is the Massage*. Toronto, ON: Random House.

Mechanic, David. 1995. "Emerging trends in the application of social sciences to health and medicine." *Social Science and Medicine* 40:1491-96.

Miller, James Roger. 1996. *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Milloy, John S. 1999. *A National Crime: The Canadian government and the residential schools system, 1879 to 1986*. Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press.

Mussell, William J. 1994. "First Nations Elders as Resource Persons/Educators." Pp. 49-58 in *Writings in Gerontology* (Volume 15), Ottawa, ON: National Advisory Council on Aging.

Myers, Ted, Sandra L. Bullock, Liviana M. Calzavara. Rhonda Cockerill. Victor W. Marshall, and Cathryn George-Mandora. 1999. "Cultural and sexual practices in response to HIV among Aboriginal people living on reserve in Ontario." *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 1(1):19-37.

Nagel, Joane. 1994. "Constructing ethnicity: creating and recreating ethnic identity and culture." *Social Problems* 41(1):1001-26.

______. 1995. "American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Politics and the Resurgence of Identity." *American Sociological Review* 60(6):947-65.

Nair, Rukmini Bhaya. 2002. *Lying on the Postcolonial Couch: The Idea of Indifference*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Ng, Roxana. 1991. "Teaching against the grain: Contradictions of minority teachers." Pp. 99-115 in *Women and Education*, edited by Jane S. Gaskell, and Arlene Tigar McLaren. Calgary, AB: Detselig.

Ngugi Wa Thiong'o. 1986. *Decolonising the mind: the politics of language in African literature*, translated by James Currey. Portsmouth, NH.: Heinemann.

______. 1993. *Moving the Center: the Struggle for Cultural Freedoms*, translated by James Currey. Portsmouth, NH.: Heinemann.

Nygren, Anja. 1998. "Struggle over Meanings: Reconstruction on Indigenous Mythology, Cultural Identity, and Social Representation." *Ethnohistory* 45(1):31-63.

O'Neil, John D., Laurel Lemchuk-Favel, and Brian Postl. 1999. "Community health and Aboriginal self-government." Pp. 67-89 in *Aboriginal self-government in Canada*. 2nd ed., edited by John H. Hylton. Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing.

Owl, Peter. 2004. Sagamok Membership, Lands & Estates Officer. Telephone Communication. May 26.

Park, Myung-seok and Moon-soo Kim. 1992. "Communication practices in Korea." *Communication Quarterly* 40(4):398-404.

Paterson, Barbara and Fjola Hart-Wasekeeiskaw. 1992. "Mentoring Women in Higher Education: Lessons from the Elders." *College Teaching* 42(2):72-78.

Peterson, Christopher, Steven F. Maier, and Martin E.P Seligman. 1995. *Learned Helplessness: A Theory for the Age of Personal Control*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Quayson, Ato. 2000. *Postcolonialism: Theory, Practice or Process?* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc.

Radin, Paul. 1966. *The Method and Theory of Ethnology*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. 1994. *Public Hearings. Toward Reconciliation: Overview of the Fourth Round*. Ottawa, Canada: Supply and Services Canada.

______. 1996. *Looking Forward, Looking Back* (Volume 4), Ottawa, Canada: The Commission.

Richardson, Boyce, ed. 1989. *Drumbeat: anger and renewal in Indian country*. Toronto, ON: Summerhill Press.

Salisbury, Richard F. and Elisabeth Tooker. 1984. *Affluence and Cultural Survival*. Washington, DC: American Ethnological Society.

Schnarch, Brian. 2004. "Ownership, Control, Access, and Possession (OCAP) or Self-Determination Applied to Research: A Critical Analysis of Contemporary First Nations Research and Some Options for First Nations Communities." *Journal of Aboriginal Health* 1(1):80-95.

Schultz, Alfred. 1967. *The phenomenology of the social world,* translated by George Walsh.and Frederich Lehnert. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University.

Schwartz, Hillel. 1996. *The culture of the copy: Striking likenesses, unreasonable facsimiles.* New York: Zone Books.

Simpson, George Eaton and J. Milton Yinger. 1985. *Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination.* 5th ed. New York: Plenum Press.

Smith, Eileen. 2004. Executive Director. Sagamok Health & Social Services. Telephone Communication. May 29.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples.* Dunedin, NZ: University of Otago Press.

Statistics Canada. 2001. "Aboriginal Peoples of Canada: A demographic profile." *2001 Census: analysis series* (Catalogue no. 96F0030XIE2001007), Ottawa, Canada: Statistics Canada.

Strong, Pauline Turner and Barrik Van Winkle. 1996. "Indian Blood: Reflections on the Reckoning and Refiguring of Native North American Identity." *Cultural Anthropology* 11(4):547-76.

Stout, Madeline Dion and Gregory Kipling. 2003. *Aboriginal People, Resilience and the Residential School Legacy.* The Aboriginal Healing Foundation Research Series. Ottawa, ON: Anishnabe Printing (Kitigan-Zibi).

Suzman, Richard and Matilda White Riley. 1985. "Introducing the "oldest old"." *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 63(2):177-86.

Thatcher, Richard. 2001. *Visonseekers: A Structured & Social Development Program for First Nations Youth at High Social Risk*. Ottawa, Canada: First Nations Inuit and Health Branch – Health Canada.

Toulouse, Pamela Rose. 2001. "Sagamok Anishnawbek: The Decision Makers and Varying Conceptions of Cultural Inclusion at Beedaban School." (NALL Working Paper No. 30-2001), Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, ON. Retrieved April 14, 2004 (http://www.oise.utoronto.ca/depts/sese/csew/nall/res/30sagamok.htm.).

Trask, Haunani-Kay. 1991. "Natives and anthropologists: The colonial struggle." *The Contemporary Pacific* 3:159-77.

Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt. 1993. *In the Realm of the Diamond Queen*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Urban, Greg. 1991. *Pedagogy*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Wakshul, Barbra. 1997. "Training leaders for the 21st Century: The American Indian Ambassadors Program-Medicine Pathways for the future" *Winds of Change* Spring: 24-28.

Warry, Wayne. 1998. *Unfinished Dreams: Community Healing and the Reality of Aboriginal Self-Government*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Williams Angie and Howard Giles. 1996. "Intergenerational conversations: Young adults' retrospective accounts." *Human Communication Research* 23(2):220-50.

Williams, Angie, Hiroshi Ota, Howard Giles, Herbert D. Pierson, Cynthia Gallois, Sik-Hung Ng, Tae-Seop Lim, Ellen Bouchard Ryan, Lilnabeth Somera, John Maher, Debra Cai, and Jake Harwood. 1997. "Young People's Beliefs About Intergenerational Communication: An Initial Cross-Cultural Comparison." *Communication Research* 24(4):370-93.

Williams, Patrick and Laura Chrisman, eds. 1994. *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Williamson, Pam. 1999. *First Nations Peoples*. Toronto, ON: Emond Montogomery Publications Ltd.

Wolfe, Alan. 1996. *Marginalized in the middle*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Wood, J. B. 1989. "Communicating with older adults in health care settings: cultural and ethnic considerations." *Educational Gerontology* 15:351-362.

York, Geoffrey. 1990. *The dispossessed: life and death in Native Canada*. London: Vintage U.K

Young Man, Alfred. 1992. "The metaphysics of North American Indian art." Pp. 81-99 in *Indigena*, edited by Gerlad McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin. Vancouver, BC: Douglas & McIntyre.

Zolner, Theresa. 2003. "Going Back to Square One and Finding It's a Circle: (Not Doing University Research in Indian Country)." *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health* 1(1):91-113.

APPENDIX 1: Preliminary Interview Guide (1)

Interview Guide 1 - Elders
"The Double Estrangement of Aboriginal Elders in Canada: The Case of Sagamok Anishnawbek First Nation"

Interview Date: ________________________
Place:________________________

Interviewee name		
Gender, Age	M / F age:	M / F age:
Education		
Occupation		

Comments:

Explanation of Research

Interested in Aboriginal (self-understandings) narratives/the stories they tell (how they validate their everyday life experiences).

Want to understand Elder perspective about their community and younger cohorts.

My goals:
to contribute to understanding of Elder Estrangement,
to help Elders and community members think about this process,
to discover how narratives are tied into past colonial and present day issues.
to learn about and observe intergenerational communication.

Interview will be intensive, unstructured, recorded, and consensual.

Explain and obtain signed form.

The Elder Narrative

1. Do you feel that you have a good relationship with other people in the community your own age?
2. Do you often interact with the youth in the community? If yes, please describe the type of interaction that you have with the youth, and how often?
3. What stops you or would stop you from interacting with the youth?
4. Do you notice if other people your age interact with the youth?
5. Do you believe that the Elders have meaningful roles in the community? Why or why not?
6. Do you believe that you have a meaning role in the community? Why or why not?
7. Do you feel that youth have an obligation to listen to the Elders? Why or Why not?
8. Do you believe that Elders are responsible for teaching the community about the traditional way of life?
9. What does culture mean to you? In other words, how would you define culture?

Follow-up Question

Are there any questions that you have, concerning your identity, or that of the community?

APPENDIX 1: Preliminary Interview Guide (2)

Interview Guide 2 – Younger Community Members
"The Double Estrangement of Aboriginal Elders in Canada: The Case of Sagamok Anishnawbek First Nation"

Interview Date:________________________

Place:________________________

Interviewee name		
Gender, Age	M / F age:	M / F age:
Education		
Occupation		

Comments:

Explanation of Research

Interested in Aboriginal (self-understandings) narratives/the stories they tell.

Want to understand youth/adult perspective about their community and their Elders.

My goals: to contribute to understanding of Elder Estrangement,
to help Elders and community members think about this process,
to discover how narratives are tied into past colonial and present day issues.
to learn about and observe intergenerational communication.

Interview will be intensive, unstructured, recorded, and consensual.

Explain and obtain signed form.

The Younger Narrative

1. Do you feel that you have a good relationship with other people in the community your own age?
2. Do you often interact with Elders in the community? If yes, please describe the type of interaction that you have with the Elders, and how often this occurs?
3. What stops you or would stop you from interacting with the Elders?
4. Do you notice if other people your age interact with the Elders?
5. What is an Elder to you? (What should an Elder be?)
6. Do you believe that the Elders have meaningful role in your own personal life? Why or why not?
7. Do you feel that you have an obligation to listen to the Elders? Why or Why not?
8. Do you believe that Elders are responsible for teaching the community about the traditional way of life?
9. What does culture mean to you? In other words, how would you define culture?

Follow-up Question

Are there any questions that you have, concerning your identity, or that of the community?

APPENDIX 2: Interviewees
Sagamok Anishnawbek First Nation Community Members & Elders

Community Members

Community Members are those members 18-50 years old, who currently all live on reserve. These individuals consist of: youth, homemakers, working professionals, individuals who provide services to the community (e.g., social and health services, education, membership, housing and so on), and include some members who have received post-secondary training.

Sasheahna. 2004. Female 30 years old, youth, single parent, human services worker on-reserve. Sagamok Anishnawbek Community Member. Personal Interview.

Angel. 2004. Female 34 years old, married, professional on reserve, post secondary graduate (bachelor's degree[24]). Sagamok Anishnawbek Community Member. Personal Interview.

Chalize. 2004. Female 42 years old, married, professional on reserve, current post secondary graduate student (Graduate Student, holds two other bachelor degrees). Sagamok Anishnawbek Community Member. Personal Interview.

Ethan. 2004. Male 22 years old, youth and child service worker on-reserve, post secondary student (diploma program). Sagamok Anishnawbek Community Member. Personal Interview.

Community Elders

Community Elders are members of Sagamok 50 years and over. All interviewees are self-reported survivors of the Residential Indian School system and federal day schools, have extensive life experience on the reserve, and possess a wealth of knowledge about Sagamok. Other characteristics of the Elders interviewed are that some have post secondary education, are knowledgeable in traditional ways of life (e.g., hunting, trapping, craftsmanship and so on), and are homemakers and working professionals (or are retired) on reserve.

Briannajan. (2004). Female 57 years old, married, retired education professional, post secondary graduate (bachelor's degree), current health and wellness and cultural advocate, and Grandmother. Sagamok Anishnawbek Elder. Personal Interview.

Chas. 2004. Male 66 years old, married, forestry, fishing and logging professional, and Grandfather. Sagamok Anishnawbek Elder. Personal Interview.

Dashaye. 2004. Female 58 years old, married, professional on-reserve, post secondary graduate (bachelor's degree), Grandmother. Sagamok Anishnawbek Elder. Personal Interview.

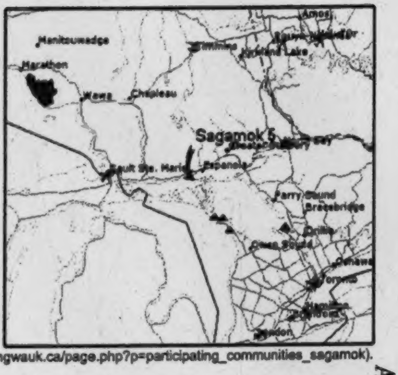
Omar. 2004. Male 64 years old, divorced, retired (job title with held to protect identity of the interviewee), recognized Elder, advisor on several committees and agencies on reserve, and Grandfather. Sagamok Anishnawbek Elder. Personal Interview.

---

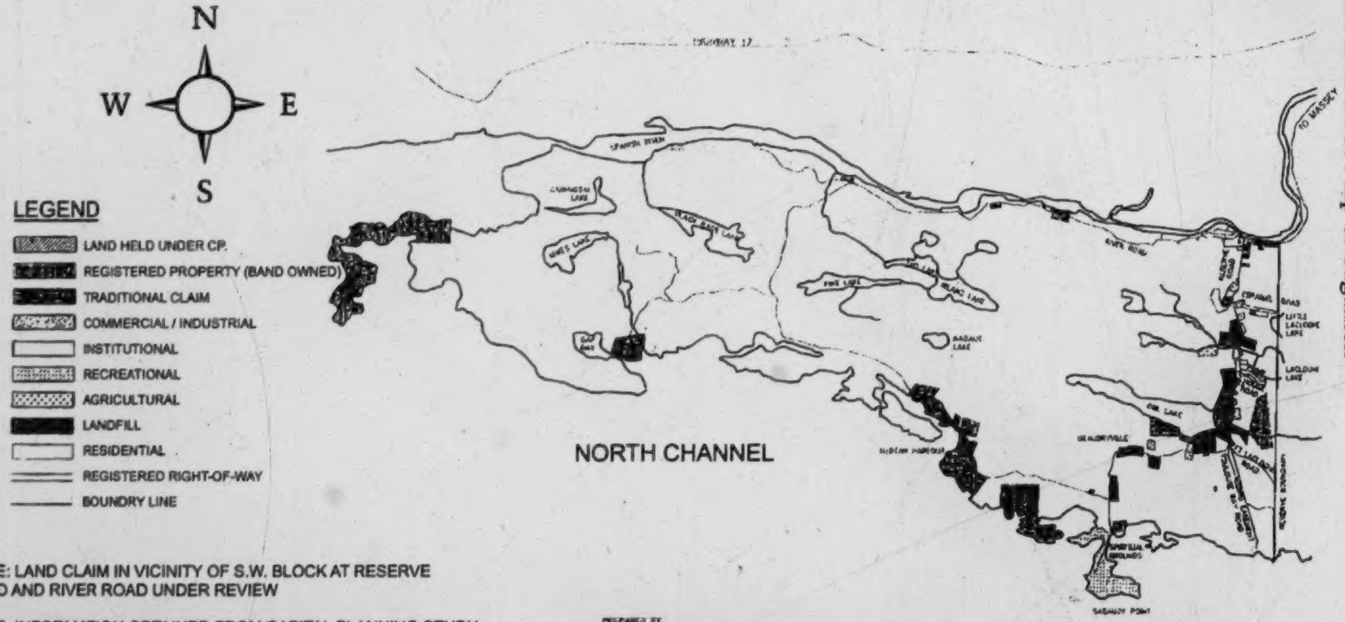
[24] I will not be revealing the type of degree earned by interviewees in order to protect their privacy. The population of educated individuals in Sagamok is still quite small. Thus, revealing the types of degrees or diplomas earned might reveal their identity.

APPENDIX 3: Map of Sagamok

- Sagamok Anishnawbek is located in the centre of the boundary between Algoma and Sudbury Districts along the north side of the North Channel of Lake Huron. The north boundary of the reserve is approximately 13 kilometers south of the town of Massey, 120 kilometers west of Sudbury, and 230 kilometers east of Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. Espanola, Ontario (6,000 population) is the nearest large centre at 25 kilometers distance.
- The reserve consists of six populated areas.
River Road Espaniel Halfway McBean Beaudryville Fort LaCloche
- The reserve covers 11,268 hectares (27,843 acres) of land, including parts of LaCloche and Little LaCloche Lakes. It is bordered by the North Channel and on the north by the Spanish River. Access to reserve lands is by paved bridge crossing at Massey that connects with Highway 17, and a road running from Espanola westward along the south side of the Spanish River. There are approximately 50-60 miles of road on the reserve.
- Eighty five percent of the reserve is boreal forest and approximately 14% is wasteland, marsh, and water. The reserve has sand, gravel, and some mineral potential. Forestry, fishing, and trapping are other activities of the land and reserve use. Important physical features include the LaCloche Mountains adn Sagamok Indian Head.
- 2214 people are registered with the Sagamok Anishnawbek First Nation.


Manitouwadge
Marathon
Wawa
Chapleau
Timmins
Kirkland Lake
Amos
Sagamok 5
Sault Ste. Marie
Espanola
Parry Sound
Bracebridge
Orillia
Owen Sound
Toronto
Hamilton
London

(http://www.shingwauk.ca/page.php?p=participating_communities_sagamok).


N
W
E
S
HIGHWAY 17
SPANISH RIVER
TO MASSEY
RIVER ROAD
LITTLE LACLOCHE LAKE
LACLOCHE LAKE
BEAUDRYVILLE
SAGAMOK POINT
NORTH CHANNEL
LEGEND
LAND HELD UNDER CP.
REGISTERED PROPERTY (BAND OWNED)
TRADITIONAL CLAIM
COMMERCIAL / INDUSTRIAL
INSTITUTIONAL
RECREATIONAL
AGRICULTURAL
LANDFILL
RESIDENTIAL
REGISTERED RIGHT-OF-WAY
BOUNDRY LINE

NOTE: LAND CLAIM IN VICINITY OF S.W. BLOCK AT RESERVE ROAD AND RIVER ROAD UNDER REVIEW

NOTE: INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM CAPITAL PLANNING STUDY
UPDATE DRAFT REPORT TO SAGAMOK ANISHNAWBEK
FIGURE 3.1
PREPARED BY UMA ENGINEERING LTD.
DATED 08 MARCH 1993
REVISED BY: RYAN JANVIER 2004

PREPARED BY
R.J. BURNSIDE & ASSOCIATES LIMITED
ENGINEERS - PLANNERS - HYDROGEOLOGISTS - ENVIRONMENTAL CONSULTANTS

CURRENT OWNERSHIP
AND LAND USE